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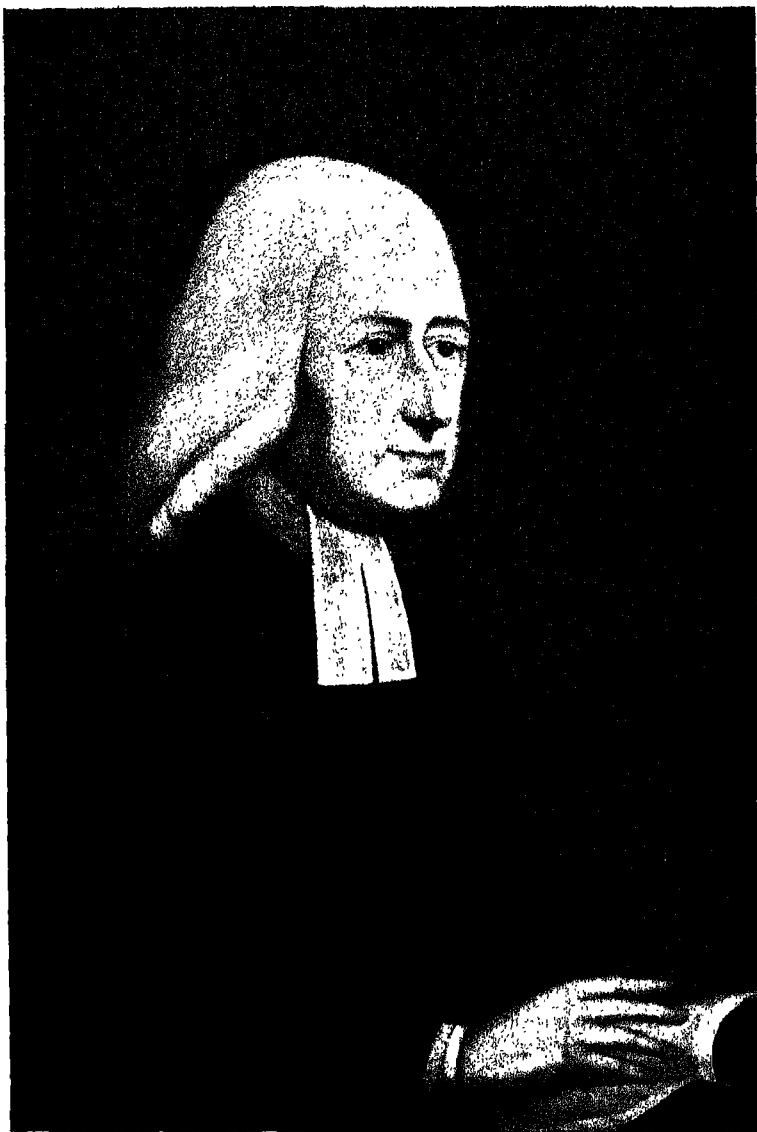
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THE LETTERS OF
THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, A.M.



JOHN WESLEY
The 'Hill' Portrait

THE LETTERS
OF THE REV.
JOHN WESLEY, A.M.
SOMETIME FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE, OXFORD

EDITED BY
JOHN TELFORD, B.A.

VOL. VIII
JULY 24, 1787, TO FEBRUARY 24, 1791



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A DELIGHTFUL OLD AGE

(Continued)

JANUARY 2, 1786, TO DECEMBER 27, 1787

JOHN WESLEY'S LETTERS

A DELIGHTFUL OLD AGE

JULY 24, 1787, TO DECEMBER 26, 1789

To Arthur Keene

Richard D'Olier, one of the leading officials in the Dublin Society, subscribed £2 2s. to the Methodist Missionary Society formed in London in January 1784. After preaching his farewell sermon on July 12, 1789, and administering the Lord's Supper to several hundreds of the Society, Wesley dined with him; and having commended the family in prayer to God, proceeded to his packet, accompanied by several members of the household and others. That was his farewell to Ireland.

MANCHESTER, July 24, 1787.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It would be strange if I did not write to *you* the first of any one in Ireland. For is it not natural to take notice first of those whom we love but especially when you have my two dear friends, one on one side, and the other on the other side? You have all need of patience while you hear every day that poor little maid bemoaning herself.¹ She is permitted thus to linger in pain, not only for her own sake (seeing the greater her sufferings are here the greater will be her reward); but likewise for your sakes, that your 'wills may be melted down and take the mould divine.' I hope your dear neighbours Mr. and Mrs. D'Olier are likewise profiting by all the providences of God. Peace be with you and yours! —I am, dear Arthur, Yours most affectionately.

To John Ogilvie

John Crook was the superintendent in the Isle of Man, and Ogilvie was second of the four preachers. He evidently wished to come to Manchester for the Conference on July 31. He was appointed to Thirsk,

¹ See letters of April 20 and Aug. 5.

NEAR MANCHESTER, *July 24, 1787.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—As there are so few preachers in the isle I think Mr. Crook's judgement is right. It will not be expedient for you to quit your station for the present. The work of God would very probably suffer if Mr. Crook and you should be absent at the same time. I believe it may be contrived for you to labour the ensuing year in some part of Yorkshire. Be zealous! Be active for God!—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Adam Clarke

MANCHESTER, *Saturday, July 28, 1787.*

DEAR ADAM,—On Monday fortnight, if God permit, Dr. Coke, Mr. Brackenbury, and I shall set out for Southampton in order to embark for Jersey, on board the first packet. I do not know but we shall bring your friend John King¹ with us.—
I am, dear Adam, Yours affectionately.

To Mr. Adam Clarke, At Mr. Walker's, In St. Peter's,
Isle of Guernsey.

To Jane Bisson

Miss Bisson was then nineteen. Wesley had a particular conversation with her at St. Helier on August 25, 1787, 'Such a young woman as I have hardly seen elsewhere.' He was amazed at the grace of God which was in her, and says, 'Precious as my time is, it would have been worth my while to come to Jersey had it been only to see this prodigy of grace.' Adam Clarke felt at a loss to describe 'a glorious something, affectingly evident in all her deportment.' See *Journal*, vii. 319; Etheridge's *Clarke*, p. 107; and letter of September 7.

MANCHESTER, *August 4, 1787.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—Although it is probable I shall see you in a few days, yet I must write a few lines. I rejoice to hear that you are still happy in God; and trust that happiness will never cease but rather increase more and more till your spirit returns to God. Be assured there is no necessity that it ever should cease. He is willing to give it you always; and He can purify you by the fire of His love as well as by the fire

¹ King did not go with them, but to Thirsk. See letters of April 21 and Oct. 31, 1787, to him.

of affliction. Do not therefore expect or desire affliction, but let the joy of the Lord be your strength. That your joy and peace may flow as a river is the prayer of, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Howton (?)

MANCHESTER, August 5, 1787.

MY DEAR SISTER,—It would have given me pleasure to spend a little time with you. But since it could not be, we are to submit. I am glad you are placed, at least for a season, among them that love and fear God. As you are naturally of an easy, flexible temper, you have great need to converse as often as possible with those that are truly alive to God; which may be a counterbalance to the conversation you will be obliged to have with those of a different character.¹ But perhaps Mr. H. will not always be of the same spirit that he has been in time past. What has hitherto been may have been permitted for the trial of your faith. And if you are like Him 'Who ne'er forsook His faith for love of peace,' the God of peace will in His own time do great things for you. To His tender care I commit you; and am, my dear sister,

Yours in much affection.

To Arthur Keene

A letter of sympathy. Could anything be more tender or more beautifully put?

MANCHESTER, August 5, 1787.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—We may see the mercy of God in removing your little one into a better world.² It was a mercy for you as well as for her. I was afraid she would have continued in pain long enough to have taken her mother with her. But God does all things well. You must now take care that she may have more air and exercise than she has lately had. Otherwise she may find many ill effects of her late confinement.

I do not wonder that your Dublin newswriters were afraid of stirring up a nest of hornets. Ours in England are not so

¹ See letter of Oct. 3, 1783.

² See letter of July 24 to him.

fearful ; they are glad to have anything from *me*. They know how it increases the sale of their paper. Pay peace be multiplied upon you, and all that are with you !—I am, dear Arthur,
Yours most affectionately.

To Mr. Arthur Keene,
Ranelagh Road, Dublin.

To the Rev. Mr. Heath

BIRMINGHAM [August 6, 1787].

DEAR SIR,—In your way to London I believe you must spend the first night at Oxford. You may inquire in the preaching-house in New Hall Lane for Mr. Harper,¹ who is the Assistant in that circuit. You have then four-and-twenty miles to High Wycombe, where Mr. Battin will entertain you hospitably by a word of recommendation from Mr. Harper. You have then thirty miles to London. At my house near Moorfields I hope you will be at home ; and Mr. Bradburn there will recommend you to our friends at Reading, Newbury, Bath, and Bristol.

At Bristol I hope you will find your family well, and probably a ship ready to sail.² I commend you to the grace of God.—I am, dear sir, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Thomas Clarkson

Thomas Clarkson says in his *History of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, i. 447–8, that the sitting of the Abolition Committee on August 27, 1787, 'was distinguished by the receipt of letters from two celebrated persons. . . . The second was from Mr. John Wesley, whose useful labours as a minister of the gospel are so well known to our countrymen.' See letter of October 11 to Granville Sharp ; and for Wesley's *Thoughts upon Slavery*, *Works*, xl. 59–79 ; Green's *Bibliography*, No. 298.

LONDON, August 1787.

'Mr. Wesley informed the Committee of the great satisfaction which he also had experienced when he heard of their formation. He conceived that their design, while it would destroy the slave trade, would also strike at the root of the shocking abomination of slavery. He desired to forewarn

¹ Joseph Harper was Assistant at Oxford in 1786–7.

² See letters of July 10, 1787, and Oct. 20, 1788.

them that they must expect difficulties and great opposition from those who were interested in the system, that they were a powerful body, and that they would raise all their forces when they perceived their craft to be in danger. They would employ hireling writers, who would have neither justice nor mercy. But the Committee were not to be dismayed by such treatment, nor even if some of those who professed goodwill toward them should turn against them. As to himself, he would do all he could to promote the object of their institution. He would reprint a new large edition of his *Thoughts upon Slavery*, and circulate it among his friends in England and Ireland, to whom he would add a few words in favour of their design. And then he concluded in these words: "I commend you to Him who is able to carry you through all opposition and support you under all discouragements."

To Jane Bisson

PENZANCE, September 7, 1787.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Almost as soon as we were in the ship the wind entirely died away. But we knew our remedy: we went into the cabin and applied ourselves to Him that has all power. Immediately a fair wind sprung up, which never ceased till it brought us to Penzance Bay. Our brethren here were not a little surprised, having given up all hopes of seeing us this year; but so much the more thankful they were to the Giver of every good gift.¹

I have thought of you much since I had the satisfaction of conversing with you; and I will tell you every thought that passed through my mind, as I wish always to do. It seems to me that our blessed Lord is willing to show all the power of His grace in you, even His power of saving to the uttermost those that come unto God through Him. But there is a mountain that stands in the way: and how you will get over it I know not: I mean pride. O my sister, what can save you from this but the mighty power of God! I almost tremble for you. If you give way to it, yea but a little, your grace will wither away. But still, that God whom you serve is able to

¹ See *Journal*, vii. 324; and letter of Sept. 18.

deliver you ; and He really will if you continue instant in prayer. That other temptation which did formerly beset you I trust will assault you no more ; or if it should, you are now better prepared for it, and you will know in whom your strength lieth.¹

When you have opportunity, my dear Jenny, write freely to
Your affectionate brother.

I hope my dear Miss Lempriere has recovered her health.

To Miss Bisson, In St. Hellers,
Isle of Jersey.

To Mary Cooke

BATH, September 15, 1787.

MY DEAR SISTER,—On Monday, the 24th instant, I shall (with God's assistance) be at Bradford ; and on Tuesday morning I hope to have the pleasure of waiting upon you at Trowbridge. Adieu !

On second thoughts I purpose preaching at Trowbridge on Monday noon and Bradford in the evening.

To James Currie

BATH, September 15, 1787.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—The account of the dying malefactors which you sent me is exceeding remarkable. I think it is worthy to have a place in the *Arminian Magazine*, and hope it may be of use to others.

Your God is well pleased with your using the strength you have, and does not send you a warfare at your own cost. Continue to declare the whole gospel and to aspire after all the promises.²—I am
Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. James Currie, At Cottam End,
Northampton.

To George Holder

Joshua Keighley had been appointed to Edinburgh, but had died of fever at Elgin. Thomas Rutherford was Assistant at York, with John Barber as his colleague. Barber was President of the Conference

¹ See letter of Aug. 4.

² See letter of Feb. 19, 1788, to him.

in 1807 and 1815, and died during his second Presidency on April 28, 1816. Holder was at Whitby. See letter of October 7.

BATH, *September 15, 1787.*

DEAR GEORGE,—Upon mature deliberation I judge it most advisable that John Barber should remove to Edinburgh (for I can trust him in any part of Great Britain) and that you should supply his place at York. As soon as may be inform him and Mr. Rutherford of this, that there may be as little delay as possible.—I am, dear George,

Yours affectionately.

To Ann Bolton

BRISTOL, *September 18, 1787.*

MY DEAR NANCY,—Yesterday I received yours of August 24 at my return from a little tour to the islands of Alderney, Jersey, and Guernsey, where we were long shut up by contrary winds. At length a ship returning from France and touching at Guernsey took us in and carried us to Penzance, where we were received as if we had just risen from the dead, and found God was with us wherever we went.¹ So I pressed on and will be with *you*. My Nancy, look up! The Lord of Hosts is at hand! He *has* delivered, He does deliver, and He will yet deliver! He chastens you long for *your profit*, that you may be a partaker of His holiness. He chastens you also for your *profit* that you may be more holy and consequently more happy. But His ways are in the deep waters and His footsteps are not known.

It is probable I shall see you at Witney in about a month. If I do, remember you are to tell me all your trials that we may both grieve and rejoice together. I cannot well tell you how much I love you; you are exceeding near and dear to me. But I am sometimes ready to think that you do not love me so well as you did once. However, I believe you have still some regard for me.

Let us still provoke one another to love and to good works. The good Lord be ever with you and unite you more and more to Himself! Then you will not forget, my dear Nancy,

Yours in tender affection.

¹ See letter of Sept. 7.

To Henry Moore

Moore had begun open-air services on Sunday afternoon in Lower Abbey Street. There had been some disturbance, and one man attempted to overthrow the chair on which he stood. Mrs. Moore and a young lady much attached to her stood on either side of the chair, and the man durst not meddle with them. When he had finished, a drunken sailor stepped on the chair and began to sing a song and 'to preach in his way. Alas! I had soon to lament over him! When he had amused himself and his auditors for a considerable time, he attempted to pass from the quay to his ship, but slipping from the plank, notwithstanding all the exertions made to save him, he found a watery grave! See Mrs. Smith's *Life of Henry Moore*, pp. 86-7.

BRISTOL, *September 18, 1787.*

DEAR HENRY,—This is nothing strange. Considering the great work of God which has lately been wrought in Dublin, we might reasonably expect Satan would fight in defence of his tottering kingdom. It is our part calmly and steadily to resist him. In such a case as you have mentioned you are justified before God and man for preaching at Eleven o'clock on Sunday morning, only earnestly advising them that have heretofore received the sacrament at church to do so still. But I do not imagine any barefaced Calvinism will be *soon* preached at Bethesda.¹

I am glad Sister Moon and Dobson are not idle, and that you preach abroad on Sundays. The death of that sailor may be a warning to others. Tenderly watch over . . .² and his coming to Dublin may be the saving of his soul. Peace be with all your spirits!—I am, with kind love to Nancy, dear Henry, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Elizabeth Padbury

BRISTOL, *September 19, 1787.*

MY DEAR BETSY,—If I do not mistake, one of our preachers desired the justice to give him the oath and was refused. If this is true, I desire as soon as possible to know, Who was the preacher? who was the justice? on what day did he offer himself to the justice; was this before or after the prosecution

¹ Edward Smyth had opened Bethesda in June 1786.

² Name torn out.

began? was any distress made, or were the goods sold after he offered to take the oath? I believe your answer to these questions will open a scene which the good justice little expects.

You have lately had a noble exercise of your faith and patience. So have several of your neighbours. This calls you to much and earnest prayer. Then God will arise and maintain His own cause. I advise you all in the meantime to say little; you have better things to talk of. I suppose the rector and the justice are now quiet. Their turn will come by and by.—I am, my dear Betsy,

Yours most affectionately.

To Miss Padbury, At Wittlebury,
Near Towcester, Northamptonshire.

To Jonathan Crowther

Crowther was in Inverness, where Edward Burbeck had been stationed with Joshua Keighley. Both died of fever. He was down in the *Minutes* for Blackburn. Their obituaries follow each other in the *Minutes* for 1788. Burbeck is described as 'qualified for eminent service in the Lord's vineyard, but was taken just in the dawn of his usefulness.' See Atmore's *Memorial*, p. 227.

NEAR BATH, September 25, 1787.

DEAR JONATHAN,—The sum of the matter is, you want money; and money you shall have, if I can beg, borrow, or anything but steal. I say, therefore, 'Dwell in the land and be doing good, and verily thou shalt be fed.'¹ I should be sorry for the death of Brother Burbeck but that I know God does all things well; and if His work prospers in your hands, this will make your labours light. Our preachers now find in the North of Scotland what they formerly found all over England; yet they went on; and when I had only blackberries to eat in Cornwall,² still God gave me strength sufficient for my work.—I am, dear Jonathan, Your affectionate brother.

PS.—To Mr. Atlay: Pay to Jonathan Crowther or his order, five guineas.

¹ See letter of Aug. 31, 1775.

² In Sept. 1743. See *Wesley's Veterans*, iii. 81.

To James Barry

NEAR BATH, September 26, 1787.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I think you misunderstood what a Papist at Lisbon asked a Protestant, 'Do you say I can't be saved in my religion?' He replied, 'I say, Possibly you may be saved in that religion. But I could not.' So I say in the present case to one that asks, 'Can't I be saved if I dance or play at cards?' I answer, 'Possibly you may be saved though you dance and play at cards. But I could not.' So far you may safely speak; but no further. So much and no more I advise our preachers to speak. But I cannot advise them to speak this to unawakened people. It will only anger, not convince them. It is beginning at the wrong end.¹ A plain preacher in London used to say, 'If you take away his rattles from the child, he will be angry; nay, if he can, he will scratch or bite you. But give him something better first, and he will throw away the rattles of himself.' Yet I do not remember that I call these things 'innocent amusements.' And you know we do not suffer any that use them to continue in our Society. Yet I make allowance for *those that are without*. Else I might send my own father and mother to hell, though they not only lived many years, but died in the full assurance of faith.

You do not seem to observe that it has pleased God to give such a measure of light to the Methodists as He has hardly given to any other body of men in the world. And He expects *us* to use all the light we have received, and to deal very tenderly with those who have not received it.

I do not wonder that Dr. Walter is not clear with regard to the doctrine of the New Birth. Neither was I when I had been in Orders many years. Bear with him, and he may see more clearly by-and-by. I see no reason why you should not communicate with Brother Garrettson and with him too. I receive the Lord's supper in every church that I can.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To William Black

Wesley's wisdom is strikingly shown in this letter of advice. On June 24 Black had heard a Presbyterian minister just come to Halifax

¹ Barry lived at Shelburne, Nova Scotia. See letter of July 3, 1784.

from Scotland preach Socinian doctrine, and expressed his concern to Wesley. See Richey's *Memoir*, pp. 198-200.

NEAR BATH, *September 26, 1787.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You have great reason to praise God for the great things that He hath done and to expect still greater things than these. Your grand difficulty now will be to guard your flock against that accomplished seducer. When you mentioned a person came from Scotland, I took it for granted that he was a Calvinist. But I find it is not so well : for I take a Socinian to be far worse than even a Predestinarian ; and such one may easily conclude him to be from the heads of that miserable sermon. Nevertheless I advise you and all our preachers never oppose him openly. Doing thus would only give the unawakened world an advantage against you all. I advise you farther, never speak severely, much less contemptuously, of him in any mixed company. You must use no weapons in opposing him but only those of truth and love. Your wisdom is (1) strongly to inculcate the doctrines which he denies, but without taking any notice of him or seeming to know that any one does deny them ; (2) to advise all our brethren (but not in public) never to hear him at the peril of their souls ; and (3) narrowly to inquire whether any one is staggered, and to set such one right as soon as possible. Thus, by the blessing of God, even those that are lame will not be turned out of the way. Peace be with your spirit !—I am, dear Billy, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Henry Moore

BRISTOL, *September 30, 1787.*

DEAR HENRY,—I know you are a man of feeling. You can sympathize with the afflicted. Therefore I employ you in a labour of love. Dear John Bull¹ is now in the Marshalsea Prison. How far he was formerly to blame is not now the question. But what can be done for him now ? for one who through a course of many years deserved well of the Methodists ? We cannot deliver him from his confinement. That is too hard for us. But possibly something might be done to

¹ See letter of July 1, 1789.

make it a little easier to him. I desire you would go and talk with him. You will find acceptable words. Tell him I desired you to call upon him in consequence of his letter, and try to make him sensible of the hand of God in all this. Now especially he stands in need of such a friend.—I am, dear Henry, with kind love to Nancy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

Pray give him a guinea on my account, and another whenever you see proper.

To Mrs. Tighe

BRISTOL, October 2, 1787.

DEAR MADAM,—I have no doubt at all of the uprightness of Mr. Tozer and his wife ; but I have more acquaintance with Mr. Harper. He is a truly good man, and has a considerable share of knowledge ; so that if he was willing to take the charge of this little school,¹ I know of no one that is more likely to promote the design of it.—I am, dear madam,

Your very affectionate servant.

Next week I expect to be in London.

To Hannah Ball

BRISTOL, October 4, 1787.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You have great reason to praise God, who has kept you for so many years a witness of His great salvation. And you must never be afraid or ashamed to declare it, especially to those that love God. Some will believe your report ; some will not, for which they never want patience. For it is impossible to cut off occasion of offence from them that seek occasion. When we speak for God, we should speak with all mildness and yet with all earnestness. But by those who do not profit thereby this earnestness will be accounted anger. But still, you have only to go on warily and steadily between the two extremes.

Certainly you may expect to see such a work in High

¹ Was this John Harper who had at Rosanna, near Wicklow. See been a preacher ? Mrs. Tighe lived letter of Feb. 7, 1789, to her.

Wycombe as never was yet. On Monday next I expect to set out for London. This winter I shall not have time to take many journeys; but I shall undoubtedly find time to visit you. Peace be with all your spirits!—I am, my dear sister,
Your affectionate brother.

To Sarah Mallet

Sarah Mallet came to live with her Uncle William at Long Stratton in January 1780 in her sixteenth year, and found peace with God there a week later. Ill-health obliged her to return to her father at Loddon in March 1781. Her uncle says that she suffered much from fits as a girl. She went back to her uncle's in May 1785, and preached in her fits, 'though she was utterly senseless.'

Wesley had a conversation with her at Long Stratton in 1786. On October 27, 1787, Joseph Harper gave her a permit to preach, 'by order of Mr. Wesley and the Conference.' 'My way of preaching from the first is to take a text and divide it, and speak from the different heads. For many years, when we had but few chapels in this country, I preached in the open air and in barns and in wagons.' Miss Mallet afterwards married Mr. Boyce, a local preacher for thirty-two years. See *Journal*, vii. 226-7; *Arminian Magazine*, 1788, p. 91; Taft's *Holy Women*, pp. 84-5; and letter of March 11, 1788,

BRISTOL, October 6, 1787.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Ever since I saw you I have felt a great love for you and a desire to see you again. When I come to Harwich I hope you will find means to be there; afterwards probably I may visit you at Long Stratton. I am glad you wrote. I have lately seen a young woman¹ in the Isle of Jersey whose experience is as extraordinary as yours; in one thing it seems to be more clear than yours—namely, in her communion with the blessed Trinity, with God the Father and God the Son and God the Holy Ghost.

It seems to me that no weapon that is formed against you shall prosper if you keep clear of inordinate affection. O keep your heart with all diligence! Mark the first risings of desire. Roll yourself (as David speaks) upon the Lord, and He is and always will be your sufficient portion.

¹ Miss Bisson, of St. Helier. See Compare those of July 4, 1787, and letters of Aug. 4 and Dec. 17 to her. Aug. 8, 1788, to Lady Maxwell.

On Monday I am to return to London. Whenever you have leisure write freely to, my dear Sally,

Yours affectionately.

To Isaac Brown

BRISTOL, October 7, 1787.

DEAR ISAAC,—It was at the request of Brother Holder himself that I ordered him to be removed from Whitby; and I have wrote once or twice to that effect. But if his mind is altered, and if you judge it safe for him to remain there, I have no objection to it.

To-morrow I am to set out for London. When I come thither, I will consider with the preachers what is to be done when the circuits will not bear the expense allotted to them. Peace be with you and yours! ¹—I am, dear Isaac,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Granville Sharp

This letter shows how keenly Wesley felt the horrors of the Slave Trade, and how wise his counsel was as to methods of procedure.

Granville Sharp took a prominent share in 1787 in founding the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, of which he was chairman. He had won the decision of a full bench of judges in 1772 that a negro who had come to England could not be given up to his former master in Barbados, and in 1775 this led to the famous decision that a slave was free as soon as he set foot on English territory.

Thomas Clarkson says that on October 30, 1787, the Abolition Committee received a second letter from Wesley, who wrote that 'he had now read the publications which the Committee had sent him, and that he took, if possible, a still deeper interest in their cause. He exhorted them to more than ordinary diligence and perseverance; to be prepared for opposition; to be cautious about the manner of procuring information and evidence, that no stain might fall upon their character; and to take care that the question should be argued as well upon the consideration of interest as of humanity and justice; the former of which, he feared, would have more weight than the latter: and he recommended them and their glorious concern, as before, to the protection of Him who was able to support them.'

See letters of August 1787 (to Thomas Clarkson); November 24,

¹ Brown was Assistant at Whitby, with George Holder as his colleague. (See letter of Sept. 15 to him.)

1787 (to Thomas Funnell) ; and February 24, 1791 (to William Wilberforce), the last Wesley wrote.

LONDON, October 11, 1787.

SIR,—Ever since I heard of it first I felt a perfect detestation of the horrid Slave Trade, but more particularly since I had the pleasure of reading what you have published upon the subject. Therefore I cannot but do everything in my power to forward the glorious design of your Society. And it must be a comfortable thing to every man of humanity to observe the spirit with which you have hitherto gone on. Indeed, you cannot go on without more than common resolution, considering the opposition you have to encounter, all the opposition which can be made by men who are not encumbered with either honour, conscience, or humanity, and will rush on *per fasque ne fasque*, through every possible means, to secure their great goddess, Interest. Unless they are infatuated in this point also, they will spare no money to carry their cause ; and this has the weight of a thousand arguments with the generality of men.

And you may be assured these men will lay hold on and improve every possible objection against you. I have been afraid lest they should raise an objection from your manner of procuring information. To *hire* or to *pay* informers has a bad sound and might raise great, yea insurmountable prejudice against you. Is it not worth your consideration whether it would not be advisable to drop this mode entirely, and to be content with such information as you can procure by more honourable means ?

After all, I doubt the matter will turn upon this, ' Is the Slave Trade for the interest of the nation ? ' And here the multitude of sailors that perish therein will come to be considered. In all these difficulties what a comfort it is to consider (unfashionable as it is) that there is a God ! Yea, and that (as little as men think of it !) He has still all power both in heaven and on earth ! To Him I commend you and your glorious Cause ; and am, sir,

Your affectionate servant.

To Mrs. Rogers

LONDON, October 12, 1787.

MY DEAR HETTY,—I do not doubt but your calling at Dublin would be in an acceptable time, especially as Rowland

Hill was there. Jemmy Rogers did exceedingly well in advising our people to go to their own church.¹

After we left you at Manchester we pushed on and in all haste set out for the Isle of Jersey. But a storm drove us into Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight. There Dr. Coke and I preached in the market-place by turns two evenings and two mornings. A second storm drove us to the Isle of Purbeck, just where the Indiaman was lost. There I had an opportunity of preaching to a little Society, which I had not seen for thirteen years. We hoped to reach Guernsey the next evening, but could get no further than the Isle of Alderney. I preached on the beach in the morning, and the next afternoon came safe to Guernsey. Here is an open door: high and low, rich and poor receive the word gladly; so that I could not regret being detained by contrary winds several days longer than we intended. The same thing befell us in the Isle of Jersey, where also there was an open door, even the Governor and the chief of the people being quite civil and friendly.

Jane Bisson² I saw every day. She is nineteen years old, about the size of Miss Ritchie, and has a peculiar mixture of seriousness, sprightliness, and sweetness, both in her looks and behaviour. Wherever we were she was the servant of all. I think she exceeds Madame Guyon in deep communion with God.

I hope you will see a revival in Cork also. See that you take particular care of the tender lambs, not forgetting poor Patty Laffan. Peace be with all your spirits!—I am, with kind love to James Rogers, my dear Hetty,

Yours most affectionately.

To Alexander Mather (?)

This was probably written to Alexander Mather, who obtained Wesley's consent to act as mediator when 'the self-elected trustees' robbed Wesley of the new house at Dewsbury. Parson Greenwood was at Dewsbury, William Thompson at Birstall, John Allen at Wakefield, John Pawson at Leeds, and John Goodwin at Halifax. See letter of July 30, 1788.

¹ Rogers had moved from Dublin to Cork. They spent a week in Dublin on their return from the Manchester Conference.

² See letter of Aug. 4.

LONDON, October 19, 1787.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You did well in sending Benjamin Light into Epworth Circuit. Pray send Michael where you judge proper.

You gave exactly right advice to Brother Greenwood, and, as I can absolutely confide in you, with Brother Pawson, Thompson, Allen, and Goodwin to assist you, what you shall agree with the trustees of Dewsbury I shall make no difficulty to. But remember that this is a *leading case*; and whatever concessions we make here, we must make to all other trustees that shall require them.

I pray consider too what Brother Thompson says to me concerning his circuit; and if you think it reasonable that those places should be given back, let them be given back.—I am
Your affectionate friend and brother.

I think the contentious spirit in Birstall and Dewsbury Circuits is what has hindered the work of God there.

To Robert Carr Brackenbury

LONDON, October 20, 1787.

DEAR SIR,—Mr. De Queteville [is undoubtedly a good young man, and has a tolerably good understanding. But he thinks it better than it is, and in consequence is apt to put himself in your or my place. For these fifty years, if any one said, 'If you do not put such an one out of Society, I will go out of it,' I have said, 'Pray go; I, not you, are to judge who shall stay.' I therefore greatly approve of your purpose to give Mr. Walker¹ full hearing in the presence of all the preachers. I have often repented of judging too severely, but very seldom of being too merciful.

As the point is undoubtedly of very great importance, it deserved serious consideration; and I am glad you took the pains to consider it, and discussed it so admirably well according to Scripture and sound reason.

I enclose a few lines for Mrs. —, for whom I feel an affectionate concern.

¹ See letter of Dec. 18.

The God whom you serve will shortly deliver you from the heaviness you feel.—I ever am, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To David Gordon

LONDON, October 29, 1787.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—When I was there myself, I expected there would be a considerable work of God in the Waterford Circuit. So I am not disappointed of my hope. But it will not be easy to secure an additional preacher at this time of the year, as all the preachers are now stationed and we have none to spare. I hope neither you or your colleague preach too loud or too long; otherwise you will soon do the devil a singular pleasure by disabling yourselves from preaching at all. I never myself bought a lottery ticket; but I blame not those that do.—I am, dear David,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. David Gordon, At the Preaching-house,
In Waterford.

To John King

NEAR LONDON, October 31, 1787.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Both in Jersey, Alderney, and Guernsey the fields are white to the harvest. Hitherto there is an open door into many places without any considerable opposition. And I am not sorry we were detained there by contrary winds longer than we intended.

There is no need at all that Thirsk Circuit should ever be in debt. You have several persons there that are of considerable ability and that love the cause of God. Represent things to them in a proper manner, and nothing will be wanting.

If any of the class-leaders teaches strange doctrine, he can have no more place among us. Only lovingly admonish him first.—I am

Yours affectionately.

To Zachariah Yewdall

LONDON, November 1, 1787.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You send me good news indeed. So even poor Dalkeith will at last receive the gospel! I have no

hope of our doing any good at Preston Pans for the present. Wherever a door is open there press forward. I do not despair of having some fruit at Musselburgh.¹ If my health is continued, I hope to pay you a visit in Scotland next summer. You may have some books to give away. Peace be with all your spirits!—I am Your affectionate brother.

Sister Bradburn is alive and well.

To Adam Clarke

Clarke in his letter of October 29 describes how Margaret Horne, of St. Peter's, a woman of unblemished character for upwards of seventy years, had come to Les Terres in June to be electrified on account of long-standing deafness. He gave her a few gentle shocks; but these were followed by such severe headache that she returned home at once. In the beginning of July one Sunday morning she found that her hair had grown nine or ten inches in the night. Mrs. Johnson, with whom she lodged, was equally surprised. It was too much to get into her cap, so she 'cut off about eight inches of the miraculous hair.' A severe sickness compelled her to take to bed, and she felt she had done wrong. She promised that if it grew again she would keep it as a proof of the miracle. This was on Sunday night. On Monday her pains were gone, and her hair had grown eight or ten inches in the night. The rest of her hair was white. This was very fine brown, a little mottled with grey. Both Mrs. Johnson and Mrs. Horne were consistent members of the Methodist Society. Mr. De Queteville, Peter Arrivé, master mariner, and others were well acquainted with the facts. See letter of January 8, 1788.

NEAR LONDON, *November 9, 1787.*

DEAR ADAM,—I am glad to hear that there is a prospect of a good work in the Isle of Alderney as well as in the Isles of Jersey and Guernsey. I do not despair of seeing our Jersey and Guernsey friends once more if it should please God to prolong my life. I love them dearly; particularly the family¹ at Mont Plaisir in Guernsey and Jenny Bisson in Jersey. I would take some pains and undergo some fatigue were it only to spend two or three days with them.

One would wonder that the prince of this world was so slow and that he did not sooner fight lest his kingdom should

¹ See letters of May 30, 1787, and ² The De Jerseys.
Dec. 27, 1787.

be delivered up. He will at length do what he can. But if you continue instant in prayer God will put the bridle in his mouth. It is well we should be convinced that we have need of Him. Our safety will we ascribe to Him alone.¹

As the case of Sister Horne is too singular to be credited without the fullest evidence, I think you would do well to write the account fair, and have it formally attested by Mrs. Johnson, Mr. Arrivé, and three or four more who were eye-witnesses of the whole. You must not believe all you hear concerning the circumstances of Mr. L——'s marriage. Indeed, you should believe nothing about them till you have told it to themselves. Envy will invent a thousand things, and with the most plausible circumstances. Save them if it be possible, which can never be done by harshness ; but love will ' break the bone.'

The Bailiff was talking of building you an house at St. Peter's ; I think it may be done by-and-by. Be exact in every point of discipline. Keep your rules, and they will keep you.—I am, dear Adam, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Adam Clarke

On October 21 De Queteville had gone to preach in the parish of Valle. Whilst he was speaking in the house of Pierre Ogier some men entered and dragged him out. They took him to the border of the parish, and threatened to throw him into the sea if he did not promise never to come back. He refused and a gentleman who was passing made the men ashamed of their conduct. They let him go. He sent for his horse, his hat, and his Bible, and departed. Adam Clarke went the following Sunday, and was roughly handled. He reported matters to Wesley in a letter written next day, and said that they had made their deposition to the Court Royal, which was favourable to the Methodists. The Court, however, gave orders that if any Methodist attempted to preach in that parish, he should be seized and brought before the justice. See Lelièvre's *Histoire du Méthodisme Wesleyan dans les Iles de la Manche*, p. 284 ; the previous letter, and that of December 8.

LONDON, November 21, 1787.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I answer Mr. De Jersey and you together. I am unwilling to discourage you in anything.

¹ See next letter.

But I really think it would be the most Christian and the most prudent way to conclude this matter amicably. I should advise you not to force the course of the river, but to let the Valle parish alone. Shake off the dust of your feet against them, and go where you are welcome. The main point seems to be to remove the prejudice of the Bailiff. If possible, this should be done by fair means. Law is the last and the worst means, though it is sometimes necessary. But I should expect far more from prayer. I will order Mr. Atlay to-day to send the books. Peace be with your spirits!—I am, dear Adam,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Thomas Funnell

November 24, 1787.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Whatever assistance I can give those generous men who join to oppose that execrable trade I certainly shall give. I have printed a large edition of the *Thoughts on Slavery*,¹ and dispersed them to every part of England. But there will be vehement opposition made, both by slave-merchants and slave-holders; and they are mighty men. But our comfort is, He that dwelleth on high is mightier. —I am
Your affectionate brother.

To Alexander Suter

Wesley had ordained Suter on August 3 for the work in Scotland. He was appointed to Ayr and Greenock, but had evidently been moved to Aberdeen in consequence of Joshua Keighley's death. See *Journal*, vii. 307d; for Children, vii. 305-6; and letter of February 23, 1773.

LONDON, November 24, 1787.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It was an idle thing to send cassocks into Scotland, where the ministers do not use them. But a cassock may be easily made into a gown only adding to it a yard or two of stuff.

As we have not yet made a precedent of any one that was not ordained administering baptism, it is better to go slow and sure.

Our Sunday schools at Bolton contain upward of eight

¹ See letter in Aug. to Thomas Clarkson.

hundred children, and are all taught by our own brethren *without pay*. I love Sunday schools much. They have done abundance of good. I will give you *Instructions and Tokens for Children*. We are just now printing a large edition. O be zealous for God !—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To the Rev. Mr. Al. Suter,
Aberdeen.

To Francis Asbury

Wesley hoped, when he went to Georgia, to work among the Indians, but was unable to realize his purpose. This letter shows the old longing for their conversion to Christianity. See letter of October 10, 1735.

LONDON, November 25, 1787.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—A glorious work, indeed, God has been working for several years and is still working in America. But one thing has often given me concern : God is visiting the progeny of Japhet (the English), who now *dwell in the tents of Shem*, according to the prophecy of Noah. Nay, He does

The servile progeny of Ham
Seize as the purchase of His blood.

But in the meantime the progeny of Shem (the Indians) seem to be quite forgotten. How few of these have seen the light of the glory of God since the English first settled among them ! And now scarce one in fifty of them among whom we settled, perhaps scarce one in an hundred of them, are left alive ! Does it not seem as if God had designed all the Indian nations not for reformation but destruction ? How many millions of them (in South and North America) have already died in their sins ! Will neither God nor man have compassion upon these outcasts of men ? Undoubtedly with man it is impossible to help them. But is it too hard for God ? Oh that He would arise and maintain His own cause ! that He would first stir up the hearts of some of His children to make the conversion of these heathens also matter of solemn prayer ! And then

Eternal Providence, exceeding thought,
When none appears will work itself a way.

Pray ye likewise the Lord of the harvest, and He will send out more labourers into His harvest. But beware you do not grudge two brethren out of an hundred to help your northern brethren.¹ It is enough that we send out two to your one, considering the enormous expense. But let us all do what we can, and we do enough. And see that no shyness or coldness ever creep in between you and

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To the Rev. Mr. Asbury, At Mr. Wells's, Merchant,
No. 11½, near the Exchange, Charlestown, South Carolina.
To be preserved carefully till he arrives.

To Robert Dall

Robert Dall became a preacher in 1772, and was eminent for his sincerity, piety, and attachment to Methodism. He died in 1828, aged eighty-one. See letter of January 9, 1788.

LONDON, December 1, 1787.

DEAR ROBERT,—You have reason to praise God, who has prospered you and given you to see the fruit of your labours. Our all-dispensing God has called us to preach the plain gospel. I am glad your hands are strengthened in corresponding with the brethren. I will desire any to change with you when you see it best¹; and if I live till spring, please God, I will visit you at Dumfries.—I am, with love to Sister Dall,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Adam Clarke

LONDON, December 8, 1787.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Again and again we have followed our Lord's direction, which is plain and express. You was 'persecuted in one city.' You should then doubtless have fled to another. The consequences of so doing you should have left to our Master. We have followed the direction over and over, and found no ill consequences at all. If there had been a Society already formed in the place, it had been a very different case. I should have advised you to give no pretence

¹ In Nova Scotia.

² See letters of Jan. 9 and Feb. 11, 1788.

or handle to the court to intermeddle with your affairs. At present I see no remedy but prayer.¹ Peace be with all your spirits—I am, dear Adam,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

On the fly-leaf of the letter this note is added :

Brother De Queteville and you do not mind what I say. I do not wonder at him (he does not know me), but I do at you. His natural temper is stern²; yours is not. Therefore I expect *you* to regard me, whether he does or no. We have no such custom among our Societies, nor ever had, as for a man to acknowledge his fault before a whole Society. There shall be no such custom while I live. If he acknowledge it before the preachers, it is enough.

To Thomas Wride

Wride was at Newcastle. Wesley was a true Temperance reformer, and his *Word to a Drunkard* is one of the most powerful assaults on strong drink ever written. See *Works*, xi. 169–71.

LONDON, December 11, 1787.

DEAR TOMMY,—Distilled liquors have their use, but are infinitely overbalanced by the abuse of them; therefore, were it in my power, I would banish them out of the world.

It is no wonder that young man should be ruined who connected himself with that *execrable bill trade*. In London I expel every one out of our Society who has anything to do with it. Whoever endorses a bill (that is, promises to pay) for more than he is worth is either a fool or a knave³—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate brother.

To Jane Bisson

LONDON, December 17, 1787.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I have a great union of spirit with you. I love to hear from you, especially when you send me that good

¹ Wesley's advice was followed, and for some years the Methodists did not visit the parish. See letters of Nov. 21 and Dec. 17.

² See letter of Dec. 18.

³ See letters of Nov. 6, 1781, and June 7, 1788.

news that you still stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free. I have a good hope that you will never lose any of the things which He has wrought in you, but that you will receive a full reward ! Do you always find a clear sense of the presence of the ever-blessed Trinity ? ¹ Are you enabled to rejoice evermore ? In what sense do you pray without ceasing ? And can you in everything give thanks, seeing it is the will of God concerning you in Christ Jesus ? What you speak of your communion with Him comforts and warms my heart. I love to read or to hear any part of your experience. If I doubted of anything you say, I would tell you so. I want to be more acquainted with you and to know everything wherein I can serve you. My dear Jenny, do not forget to pray for

Yours in tender affection.

To Robert Carr Brackenbury

LONDON, December 17, 1787.

DEAR SIR,—Considering that the god of this world will not fail to fight when his kingdom is in danger, I do not wonder that persecution should come to Jersey and Guernsey.^a I agree with you that the best method to be used in this exigence is fasting and prayer. It is plain your labours in those places have not been in vain. And I am in hopes Guernsey will overtake Jersey.

Wishing you all every possible blessing, I am, dear sir,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To James Ridall

LONDON, December 17, 1787.

DEAR JAMES,—If you would not murder yourself, take particular care never to preach too loud or too long. Always conclude the service within the hour. Then preaching will not hurt you.^a

The doubt whether you are called to preach or not springs wholly from the temptation of the devil. Give not place to

¹ See letter of Oct. 6.

^a See letter of Dec. 8.

^a See letters of March 25, 1787, and April 18, 1789.

his voice—no, not for an hour ! Do not reason with him, but look unto Jesus. He will supply all your wants.—I am

Your affectionate brother

To Mr. Ridall, At the Octagon,
Chester.

To Adam Clarke

LONDON, December 18, 1787.

DEAR ADAM,—I thank you for the use of your books. They contain many ingenious observations ; but I think very few of them are solid. Much may be said on both sides.

I am afraid you have been too severe with Mr. Walker.¹ I am persuaded there is much good in him, otherwise he would have washed his hands of the Methodists.—Take care you do not contract something of Brother De Queteville's temper !—I am, dear Adam, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mary Cooke

LONDON, December 21, 1787.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You have unspeakable reason to praise God for His late manifestations to you. And you will generally observe that large consolations are preceded by deep exercises of soul. And we all have reason to praise Him for the many tokens we see of His approaching kingdom. It is plain Satan, the murderer and the deceiver of mankind, is in a great measure bound already ; he is not now permitted to deceive the nations, as in the past ages. And even in the Romish countries scarce any are now called to resist unto blood. If two or three of you continue instant in prayer, the work will revive at Trowbridge also. When you are met together, boldly lay hold on the promise : His word will speak, and will not lie. Peace be with all your spirits !—I am, my dear sister,

Yours most affectionately.

To Thomas Roberts

The lady's parents were against the marriage, which was given up. It was evidently ' a fair escape.' Roberts died in 1832 at the age of

¹ Clarke says in a letter to Wesley on Dec. 20, 1786, that George Walker furnished his board gratis.

See Dunn's *Clarke*, p. 32 ; and letters of Oct. 20, 1787, and Jan. 8, 1788.

² See letter of Dec. 8.

sixty-six. He had 'a superior mind, well cultivated, and richly stored with useful knowledge.' See letters of March 24, 1787, and January 18, 1788 (to him).

LONDON, *December 22, 1787.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Supposing Miss Christian Davenport answers the description of her which you give, and suppose both hers and your parents are now willing, then I do not see that any reasonable objection can be made against your marriage.—I am

Yours affectionately.

To Arthur Keene

LONDON, *December 25, 1787.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It was, I suppose, about the time that you was in the North, I was in the Southern Islands, which I think are abundantly the pleasantest part of His Majesty's dominions.¹ And the people in general are just prepared for the reception of true religion. For, with regard to their circumstances, they are in the happy medium, neither rich nor poor; and with regard to their temper, most of them have the French courtesy joined to the English sincerity; a great deal resembling many of our friends both in Dublin and in the North of Ireland.

We have every reason to be thankful to God on behalf of our poor widows.² One thing I cannot but particularly wish, that all their rooms may be kept as clean as possible. I have not had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Handy. I suppose he called here when I was out of town.

Wishing every blessing to you and your dear family,
I am, dear Arthur,

Ever yours.

I have just seen Mr. Handy, who informed me that James Whitestone³ is gone hence. Let us also be ready!

To Joseph Benson

Benson had sent a glowing account of the new chapel in George Yard, Hull, which he had opened on December 23. It was twice as large

¹ His visit to the Channel Islands in August.

² The Widows' Home in Dublin. See letter of April 20, 1787.

³ Of Dublin. See reference to his wife in Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, i. 157-67.

as the old one in Manor Alley, and was regarded as a sort of Methodist minster. Wesley saw it in 1788, and says, 'The new preaching-house here is nearly as large as the new chapel in London. It is well built, and elegantly finished; handsome, but not gaudy.' See *W.H.S.*, xii. 121-4.

LONDON, *December 27, 1787.*

DEAR JOSEPH,—I greatly rejoice in the erection of your new preaching-house and in the tokens of the divine presence with which you and the people were favoured at the opening; but if it be at all equal to the new chapel in London, I will engage to eat it.—I am
Yours affectionately.

To Zachariah Yewdall

LONDON, *December 27, 1787.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You are in the right. You can have nothing at all to do with the chapel upon those terms.¹ Nay, a dovecote above it would be an insufferable nuisance, as it would fill the whole place with fleas. 'What is to be done then?' Why, continue instant in prayer, and God will show what you are to do. But he that believeth doth not make haste. I cannot advise you to set about building an house unless you could find one or two responsible men who would engage themselves to finish the building in such a manner for an hundred and fifty pounds. Otherwise I think you would be more bold than wise.—I am, with kind love to Mrs. Yewdall,
Your affectionate brother.

¹ Yewdall was at Musselburgh. See letter of Nov. 1.

DAYS OF HONOUR

JANUARY 8, 1788, TO DECEMBER 26, 1789

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

1788. *Second Series of Sermons (four volumes) published.*
- Mar. 17. *Last letter to his brother.*
- Mar. 29. *Death of Charles Wesley.*
- Apr. 4. *Wesley in Macclesfield hears of his brother's death.*
- Apr. 5. *Burial of Charles Wesley in Marylebone.*
- June 28. *Wesley spends his birthday at Epworth.*
- July 29—
- Aug. 6. *Conference at Bristol.*
- 1789, Mar. 29. *Visit to Ireland ; returns July 12.*
- July 28. *Conference in Leeds.*
- Aug. 12—
- Sep. 5. *Last visit to West of England.*

Wesley felt in these years added responsibility for the use of every hour. His brother died on March 29, 1788, and the last letters to him and those to his widow and children have peculiar tenderness. His own life was nearing its bourns, and his visits were everywhere regarded as opportunities which might never be repeated. That did not prevent the Methodists of Dublin from adding grievously to his cares and burdens by their criticism of the action taken as to hours of service. Some words of Dr. Coke were misrepresented, and 'set all Ireland in a flame.' Wesley says on July 14, 1789, 'It has brought a flood of obloquy upon me.'

His keen interest in the love affairs of Mrs. Wesley's granddaughter and in other engagements and marriages prove that whilst he drew nearer heaven he did not lose interest in the happiness of his preachers and friends. There is much plain speaking in the communications to John Atlay his traitor Book Steward, and the leader of the disloyal company at North Shields, who robbed him of his property. The letter to Henry Moore about Atlay's presence in London is a fine piece of satire. That to Francis Asbury on September 20, 1788, is not so easy to justify; but the assumption of the title 'bishop' and the setting up of Cohasbury College seemed to the veteran to be lacking in humility, and he was uneasy as to the effect of such a spirit on the future of Methodism in the New World.

DAYS OF HONOUR

JANUARY 8, 1788, TO DECEMBER 26, 1789

To Adam Clarke

LONDON, January 8, 1788,

DEAR ADAM,—I admired the spirit of young George Walker.¹ All the times that he spent with us I know not that he blamed any one. He did not tell anything about his father but in simply answering the questions I asked concerning him. I am in great hopes now that his marriage will not do hurt either to him or her. It is exceeding well that the storm which threatened is so well blown over. It is plain the Lord God omnipotent reigneth and that there is neither counsel nor strength against Him. But you have not sent a plain, full, distinct account of the affair of our old sister,² specifying (1) her age ; (2) on what day of the year and month did the first hair shoot out ? (3) on what day did she throw it into the fire ? (4) on what night did it grow again ? (5) who were eye-witnesses of these things ? You cannot be too particular.

I do not like your staying so long at a time in Guernsey. I advise you to change islands without fail once a quarter. Are Mr. and Mrs. De Jersey well, and my two dear maidens ? How are Mr. and Mrs. Amore ? And how does my dear Jenny Bisson go on ? She is a letter in my debt. I wish you all many happy years ; and am, dear Adam,

Yours and Brother De Queteville's affectionate friend
and brother.

To Duncan Wright

LONDON, January 9, 1788.

DEAR DUNCAN,—You send me a comfortable account of the work of God in your circuit. I cannot doubt but a blessing

¹ Despite somewhat hard treatment by his father. See letter of Dec. 18, 1787.

² Mrs. Horne. See letters of Nov. 9, 1787, and March 17, 1788.

redounds to you and for the sake of the poor children. I verily think these Sunday schools are one of the noblest specimens of charity which have been set on foot in England since the time of William the Conqueror.¹

If Michael Fenwick has a mind to go to Dumfries and assist Robert Dall,² you may give him three guineas, which he must husband well. He may write to me from thence.—I am, dear Duncan,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Barton

LONDON, January 11, 1788.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You have indeed had a series of trials one upon the back of another. It is well you know in whom you have believed; otherwise you would have been weary and faint in your mind. For it is not an easy thing always to remember (then especially when we have most need of it) that 'the Lord loveth whom He chasteneth and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth.' Who could believe it, if He had not told us so Himself? It is well that He never fails to give us strength according to our day; and that we know these 'light afflictions, which are but for a moment, work for us a more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.'—I am
Your affectionate brother.

To Joseph Pescod

LONDON, January 13, 1788.

DEAR JOSEPH,—Why should you sell the house? Is not the yearly rent of it equal to the interest on the money you would receive for it? If it wants repairing,³ the Conference will allow money to repair, and also to renew the lease whenever it expires. By-and-by we should bitterly regret the selling of it.—I am
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Jos. Pescod, At the Preaching-house,
In Oxford.

¹ Eight hundred poor children were taught at Bolton 'by about eighty masters, who receive no pay but what they are to receive from their Great Master.' See *Journal*, vii. 305-6.

² See letters of Dec. 1, 1787, and Feb. 11, 1788.

³ Pescod was Assistant in the Oxfordshire Circuit. He notes that the expense of repairing the house is £25.

To Henry Moore

LONDON, January 18, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—This is an unprecedented thing. I never before saw or heard of such a flow of grace as was seen [in] Dublin three years together without a proportionable ebb succeeding.¹ Whereas to this hour we have no ebb at all. We can only say, 'It is the Lord: let Him do what seemeth Him good.'

I am glad you have got an house in Marlborough Street.² I have appointed a class to meet there. It must needs give much offence. However, give as little as possible. Behave to them with all possible tenderness and courtesy. And do nothing that you foresee will give offence, unless it be a matter of duty.

It is exceeding well that you have made a beginning at Castle Road. I wonder all the villages round Dublin have not been tried before now. My best love attends my dear Nancy.—I am, dear Henry (and Becky³ too),

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Thomas Roberts

LONDON, January 18, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—As the matter is now decided, I hope you are able to say, 'Lord, not as I will, but as Thou wilt.' I commend you for entirely giving up the matter when you found her parents were absolutely against it.⁴ I hope you will think of it no more, but will be now more unreservedly devoted to God than ever!—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

I do not see that you [should] quit the circuit.

To William Simpson

LONDON, January 18, 1788.

DEAR BILLY,—You did exceeding well to enlarge the number of prayer-meetings and to fix them in various parts

¹ See letter of April 6.² See letter of Feb. 19.³ On Feb. 19 Wesley refers to the opening of the Marlborough Street Room.⁴ See letters of Dec. 22, 1787, and Feb. 12, 1789.

of those [places]. I do not know that any means of grace whatever has been more owned of God than this.

It is not now but at the time of Conference that children are received into Kingswood School.

I am glad Sister Moon¹ has not forgotten me. I hope Sister Middleton too thinks of me sometimes. You are welcome to the four volumes of *Sermons*.—I am, with kind love to Sister Simpson, dear Billy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Will. Simpson, At the Preaching-house,
Stockton-upon-Tees.

To Robert Dall.

Wesley was at Dumfries on May 13. He says: 'Robert Dall soon found me out. He has behaved exceeding well, and done much good here; but he is a bold man. He has begun building a preaching-house larger than any in Scotland except those in Glasgow and Edinburgh.' See *Journal*, vii. 387; and letters of January 9, 1788, and January 28, 1789.

LONDON, February 11, 1788.

DEAR ROBERT,—I allow you to build at Dumfries, providing anyone will lend a hundred guineas on interest. I hope to see you, God willing, in May.—I am, &c.

To his Brother Charles

Charles Wesley was very weak, though still able to get out of doors sometimes.

LONDON, February 18, 1788.

DEAR BROTHER,—You must go out *every day* or die. Do not die to save charges. You certainly need not want anything as long as I live. Adieu.

To William Holmes

LONDON, February 18, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Do right and fear nothing. Exclude every person that will not promise to meet his or her class,

¹ Mrs. Emma Moon, his old correspondent at Yarm, where Simpson was Assistant. See letter of Nov. 5, 1762; and for Mrs. Middleton, Feb. 22, 1786.

the steward in particular I require you to do this. You have no choice. Leave the consequences to God. I do not advise you to go to the Hay any more, unless they can and will serve you harmless. Now believe, and you shall see better days !—
I am Your affectionate friend and brother.

Don't regard money. We can supply that.

**To Mr. W. Holmes, At Miss Williams',
milliner, In Brecon.**

To James Currie

NEAR LONDON, *February* 19, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Supposing we could pray in faith for the accomplishment of the promise which is given in the last chapter of St. Mark, there is no doubt it would be fulfilled now as it was seventeen hundred years ago. And I have known many instances of this both in England and elsewhere.

In fifty years we have been much molested in field-preaching, and may be so again. Those who live fifty years more will let it die and be forgotten. Nobody will be fond of following the example of Mr. Bannclark.

I doubt whether the time is come for laying out so much money in building at Northampton. Four hundred pounds, where should they come? Stay till Providence opens itself.—
I am, dear James,
Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. James Currie, At Colton End,
Northampton.

To Henry Moore

NEAR LONDON, *February* 19, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad the house is opened in Marlborough Street,³ and that the work of God still prospers among you, particularly among the poor soldiers.⁴ You send me likewise good news concerning George Dice.⁵ Nurse

¹ Holmes (1782-1833), a native of Devonshire, was Assistant at Brecon. See letter of June 14 to Walter Churchey.

* See letters of Sept. 13, 1787, and Jan. 24, 1789, to him.

* The house had been a Lutheran

church; but they removed to Poolbeg Street about 1725. See *W.H.S.*, v, 68; and letter of Jan. 18 to Moore.

⁴ See letter of April 6.

⁸ Dice had retired in 1786. See letter of Jan. 14 of that year.

him tenderly, and he will come to good. Dr. Coke will not fail to rejoice over him.

Not only the devices of the Evangelical Society, but no weapon formed against us shall prosper. Is Bethesda full on the Sunday evenings? or half full on week days? If it had been in full union with the Methodists, I am inclined to think it would have prospered. But it was not likely to stand alone—I do not see how we can go further than to be friends at a distance.

I have referred to Dr. Coke himself in what manner he shall proceed in Dublin, and whatever he and you agree upon I shall not condemn.

With my tender love to my dear Nancy, nay, and Becky,¹ I am, dear Henry, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Jane Bisson

NEAR LONDON, *February 20, 1788.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—Your last letter gave me a very sensible pleasure. Indeed, so do all your letters. And I cannot but acknowledge every letter I receive from you unites you to me more than I was united before. There is something in your spirit that does me good, that softens and quickens me too: but at the same time that melancholy thought occurs, that you are at so great a distance from me, and that it is doubtful whether I shall ever have the satisfaction of taking you by the hand again. Yet I shall, if it be the will of Him that orders all things well, who orders all for our profit, that we may be partakers of His holiness. And we know He cannot deny to them that fear Him any manner of thing that is good.

Your speaking of trials makes me almost ready to cry out in the words of our poet,

Secluded from the world, and all its care,
Hast thou to joy or grieve, to hope or fear?

Shut up, as you are, in your father's house, and a little, retired, quiet island, and having food to eat and raiment to put on, what can you find to try you? Speak, my dear friend, speak.

¹ Moore's sister. See letters of Jan. 18 and June 7.

Surely you will not deny me the pleasure of serving you, or at least of sympathizing with you, if I cannot help you. One of your trials I can easily foresee. With all your innocence and prudence, you cannot escape censure. In spite of all you can do, the good that is in you will surely be evil spoken of. And it is not unlikely some will join in the cry against you from whom you expected better things. But, as you are just entering into life, one would think you had hardly yet met with any who rewarded you evil for good, and gave you occasion to cry out,

Ingratitude ! sharp as the viper's tooth !

However, you have one Friend that never fails and that is always near. What a comfort it is that He is about your bed and about your path, still laying His hand upon you ! Does He speak to you in dreams and visions of the night ? or wholly in your waking hours ? I love to hear and to read your experience of His goodness. As soon as you have opportunity, write without reserve to, my very dear sister, .

Yours most affectionately.

To Miss Jane Bisson, In St. Heller,
Isle of Jersey.

To Charles Wesley

February [20], 1788.

I have not one hour to spare from four in the morning till nine at night. But you may see me on Thursday at Mr. Griffith's, who will come in his coach to fetch you.

O *consent*¹ to be cured !

To Ann Bolton

LONDON, February 23, 1788.

MY DEAR NANCY,—You do well to write to me at all times when you are of leisure, but especially when you are in trouble. It is a just remark of Mr. Addison :

The ways of Heaven are dark and intricate,
Puzzled with mazes and perplext with errors.

¹ Charles endorses this, 'Consent to be cured, Feb. 1788.'

So it seems at least to our poor, weak understandings, which cannot fathom the deep counsels of God. But what He does now you will know hereafter and see that He hath done all things well. If you had not seen trouble in the years that are past, you would not have been what you are now. You have fairly profited thereby: you have not suffered so many things in vain; but you have learnt more and more obedience by the things that you have suffered.

On Thursday next I am to leave London. I hope to be at Bristol the Monday following; a fortnight after at Stroud, as usual; and then at Cirencester and Gloucester. Meet me somewhere if you can conveniently. A copy of the *Magazine* is not now to be had, but you may have abundance of single ones. And, indeed, you never need want anything that is in the power of, my dear Nancy, Yours most affectionately.

To Robert Carr Brackenbury

Brackenbury was thinking about returning to England. His health was still poor. Chapels had been built and preachers raised up.

LONDON, February 27, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I cannot exactly agree with your judgement. While there was no preacher in the islands but you, and while the work of God was but just beginning, you was undoubtedly called to spend most of your time there, and then you did right in not being disobedient to the heavenly calling. But the case is very different now. They have now able preachers in French and English; and as they do not do the work deceitfully, it prospers in their hands. Has not the Lord more work for you to do in England? In June (if God permit), I purpose to spend an evening with you at Raithby. Peace be with all your spirits!—I am, dear sir,

Your very affectionate friend and brother.

To David Gordon

David Gordon was born at Ballymena in 1757, became a preacher in 1784, and died in 1799. He was deeply devoted to God, and a very acceptable preacher. See *Atmore's Memorial*, pp. 157–60.

BATH, February 29, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad to find that matters are not so bad as they were represented, as to preaching in the morning and meeting the leaders. I hope there has been no blame, and I trust you have not willingly neglected your circuit. It would be worth while to talk at large with that young man who neglects the Lord's Supper. But if he obstinately persists in that neglect, you can't give him any more tickets for our Society. Be exact in all things.—I am, dear David, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. David Gordon, At the Preaching-house,
In Waterford.

To his Brother Charles

BATH, March 2, 1788.

DEAR BROTHER,—Hitherto we have had a very prosperous journey. We were just sixteen hours upon the road. All here are in peace. The little quarrels that used to be in the Society are dead and forgotten. John Broadbent has behaved exceeding wisely, and has given less offence than could have been imagined.¹ The congregations here are surprisingly large. Truly the day of God's power has come. Mr. Collins is in an excellent spirit, and preaches at the chapel² three or four times a week. He did not stay to be asked, but came and offered to read Prayers for me. Many inquire after *you*, and express much affection and desire of seeing you. In good time! You are first suffering the will of *God*. Afterwards He has a little more for you to do—that is, provided you now take up your cross (for such it frequently must be) and go out at least an hour in a day. I would not blame you if it were two or three. Never mind expense; I can make that up. You shall not die to save charges. I shall shortly have a word to say to Charles and his brother both.³

Peace be with all your spirits!

Miss Perrot⁴ is gone to rest; so farewell pain.

¹ For Wesley's impressions of the work, see *Journal*, vii. 358–9.

² Brian Bury Collins was now living at Corn Street, and preached frequently at Lady Huntingdon's Vineyards' Chapel.

³ See letter of March 5.

⁴ See Jackson's *Charles Wesley*, i. 558—'poor Nancy Perrot, my companion in misery.' Mrs. Wright to C. Wesley, Oct. 4, 1745.

To Susanna Knapp

BRISTOL, March 4, 1788.

MY DEAR SUKY,—That you were at the trouble of sending me a few lines I take exceeding kindly. I was talking with Mr. Eden here ¹ a day or two ago, and he heard that the roads about Broadmarston are now almost impassable. On Monday next I hope to be at Stroud, on Tuesday at Gloucester, on Wednesday and Thursday at Worcester, on Friday at Stourport, and on Saturday at Birmingham. I hope you are making the best use of the vigour of youth in running the race that is set before you.² These are precious hours; improve them to the uttermost, and you will give pleasure to all that love you; in particular to, my dear Suky, Yours affectionately.

To Miss Knapp, At Mr. Knapp's,
In Worcester.

To his Brother Charles

BRISTOL, March 5, 1788.

DEAR BROTHER,—I hope you keep to your rule, of going out every day, although it may sometimes be a cross. Keep to this but one month, and I am persuaded you will be as well as you was this time twelve-month.

If I ventured to give you advice more, it would be this: 'Be master of your own house.' If you fly, they pursue. But stand firm, and you will carry your point.³ Adieu!

To Jasper Winscom

Thomas Warwick was in the Isle of Wight. His obituary describes him as 'a man of solid piety, respectable talents, and great self-possession and intrepidity.' He was appointed to Bristol in 1788. Stamp's manuscript *Methodism in Hampshire*, I. 1788 section, says of Winscom, 'A more censorious and fault-finding man never existed.' He speaks of his love of power.

BRISTOL, March 6, 1788.

DEAR JASPER,—As soon as possible go to the isle and acquaint Thomas Warwick with what is laid to his charge.

¹ Then in Bristol. See letter of Feb. 11, 1772, n.

² Miss Knapp was born Sept. 17, 1770. She was greatly influenced by Wesley's visits to her home.

See letter of March 4, 1784, to her.

³ Evidently his musician sons needed to be kept to rule. See letters of March 2 and 7.

According to the spirit and manner wherein he receives it must our proceeding be. If you see reason to believe he is truly penitent, we may possibly try him a little longer. But if he makes light of the matter and braves it out, I am afraid we must let him drop. Send word of all that occurs to

Your affectionate brother.

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

BRISTOL, March 7, 1788.

MY DEAR SALLY,—When my appetite was entirely gone, so that all I could take at dinner was a roasted turnip, it was restored in a few days by riding out daily, after taking ten drops of elixir of vitriol in a glass of water. It is highly probable this would have the same effect in my brother's case. But in the meantime I wish he would see Dr. Whitehead.¹ I am persuaded there is not such another physician in England; although (to confound human wisdom) he does not know how to cure his own wife.

He must lie in bed as little as possible in the daytime; otherwise it will hinder his sleeping at night.

Now, Sally, tell your brothers from me 'that their tenderly respectful behaviour to their father (even asking his pardon if in anything they have offended him) will be the best cordial for him under heaven. I know not but they may save his life thereby. To *know* nothing will be wanting on your part gives great satisfaction to, my dear Sally,

Yours very affectionately.

To Sarah Mallet

It was Miss Mallet's rule to go as preacher or revivalist whenever she was sent for. In a note at the back of the letter she says she worked with her own hands so as to lay no charge on the people. 'Mr. Wesley heard of all this, and became a father to me when my own father refused to do a father's part.' See letters of October 6, 1787, and August 2, 1788, to her.

BATH, March 11, 1788.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I should have been exceedingly glad to see you; for I have a tender affection for you, and I shall

¹ John Whitehead. See letter of Oct. 15, 1766.

² See letter of March 5.

always be well pleased to hear from you and to know how your soul prospers.

I do not wonder you should have trials : you may expect them from every quarter. You tread daily on dangers, snares, and death. But *they* cannot *hurt* you whilst your heart cleaves to God. Beware of pride ! Beware of flatterers ! Beware of dejections ! But above all beware of inordinate affection ! Those who *profit* by you will be apt to love you more than enough ; and will not this naturally lead you into the same temptation ? Nay, Sally, is not this the case already ? Is your heart filled wholly with God ? Is it clear of idols ? I think you can speak to me freely, though on so delicate a subject you can hardly speak to anyone else. Is *He* still the sole object of your desire, the treasure and joy of your heart ? Considering your age and sex and situation, what but Omnipotence can keep you in the midst of the fire ?

You will not take it amiss if I ask you another question. I know that neither your father nor uncle is rich ; and in *travelling up and down* you will want a little money. Are you not sometimes straitened ? Only let me know, and you shall want nothing that is in the power of, my dear Sally,

Yours affectionately.

To Charles Atmore

BRISTOL, March 13, 1788.

DEAR CHARLES,—My journeys now grow rather too long to be taken in one year. I am strongly importuned to shorten them by not attempting to journey through Scotland any more. But this I cannot comply with ; only thus far : I do not purpose visiting the North of Scotland. I must move in a smaller circle. I intend with God's help to visit first Dumfries, then Glasgow and Edinburgh, and from Edinburgh to return into England, where (even if I reach Newcastle by the end of May) I shall have full as much work as I can do before I return to London to prepare for the Conference.

You must needs pay a short visit to Ayr. That little Society must not be neglected. But I cannot imagine what can be done to build up the infant Society at Dumfries. If I

can find a proper person as I come along, I will bring or send them a preacher. Charles, be zealous!—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To the Rev. Mr. Atmore,
In Glasgow.

To Samuel Bradburn

Benjamin Rhodes was stationed at Bristol. He had been Bradburn's colleague in London the previous year. His hymn 'My heart and Voice I raise' is well known. Wesley 'Corrected Tunes' on July 17, when he got back to London. See *Journal*, vii. 417d; and letters of October 22, 1773, and April 15, 1788.

BRISTOL, March 13, 1788.

DEAR SAMMY,—With regard to my brother, I advise you : (1) Whether he will or no (at least, if not done already), carry Dr. Whitehead¹ to him. (2) If he cannot go out, and yet must have exercise or die, persuade him to use [the wooden horse²] twice or thrice a day, and procure one for him. (3) I earnestly advise him to be electrified; not shocked, but only filled with electric fire. (4) Inquire if he has made his will, though I think it scarcely possible he should have delayed it.

The tunes which Brother Rhodes left with you should be immediately printed in the cheap form. Kind love to Sophy.—I am, dear Sammy, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To his Nephew Charles Wesley

BRISTOL, March 16, 1788.

DEAR CHARLES,—Before going down to preach I just snatch time to write two or three lines. I think your persuasion is not of man but of God. Let none reason you out of it. But, whenever it pleases God to call your father, Sammy and you while I live will find a father and friend in

Your affectionate Uncle.

To his Brother Charles

BRISTOL, March 17, 1788,
between four and five.

DEAR BROTHER,—I am just setting out on my northern journey. But I must snatch time to write two or three lines.

¹ See letter of March 7.

² See letters of July 17, 1785, and Aug. 18, 1790.

I stand and admire the wise and gracious dispensation of Divine Providence! Never was there before so loud a call to all that are under your roof. If they have not hitherto sufficiently regarded either you or the Lord God of their fathers, what was more calculated to convince them than to see you hovering so long upon the borders of the grave? And I verily believe, if they receive the admonition, God will raise you up again. I know you have the sentence of death in yourself; so had I more than twelve years ago.¹ I know nature is utterly exhausted; but is not nature subject to *His* word? I do not depend upon physicians, but upon Him that raiseth the dead. Only let your whole family stir themselves up and be instant in Prayer; then I have only to say to each, 'If thou canst believe, thou shalt see the glory of God!' Be strong in the Lord and in the power of His might. Adieu!

To The Rev. Mr. C. Wesley,
In Chesterfield Street, London.

To Adam Clarke

STROUD, March 17, 1788.

DEAR ADAM,—I immediately answered the letter which brought the account of Sister Horne's case.¹ I am afraid they will make wilful mistakes and carry your letters to the Isle of Wight.

I am glad you have spread yourselves through the islands and that Mrs. de Saumarez has had the courage to join you. I believe she has very good uprightness of heart and (if she goes on) will be a burning and shining light. You have reason likewise to praise God on account of Alderney.² There is a seed which shall not easily be rooted up. Drink largely when need be of warm lemonade, and no bilious complaint will remain long.

Our Conference Deed provided for what Dr. Jersey desires. I desire the very same thing; nay! I observe Mr. Walker too. The sooner it is done the better. Send your translation³ to

¹ In Ireland in 1775. See letter of July 28, 1775, to James Dempster.

² See letter of Jan. 8.

³ See letter of Nov. 9, 1787.

⁴ Clarke had offered on Oct. 29

to send a translation of part or the whole of *Conférence de la Fable avec l'Histoire Sainte* for the January *Magazine* if Wesley wished.

London. My kind love to Miss Lempriere, Jenny Bisson (who owes me a letter), and the dear family at Mont Plaisir.¹ Peace be with your spirits.—I am, dear Adam,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

Direct to me at London, and your letter will come safe.

To his Nephew Samuel Wesley

STROUD, March 18, 1788.

DEAR SAMMY,—I have long had a great concern for you ; but never more than at present. Just now you are in a critical situation, and every hour is of importance. Your father is, to all known appearances, just quivering over the grave, and ready to leave you, with all the first inexperience of youth, under your tuition. The time was when you would have taken my advice. But now Miss Freeman has taught you another lesson !² Alas ! What a fatal step was that ! I care not at all for one *opinion* or another. I care not who is head of the Church, provided *you* be a *Christian* ! But what a grievous loss is it to *you* to be cut off on any pretence whatever from that preaching which is more calculated than any other in England to make you a *real scriptural* Christian. O Sammy, I take upon me to say, if you had neglected no opportunity of hearing your father and me preaching, you would have been another man than you are now.

But it seems the time is past ! Your father is on the wing. You are not likely to see him long ; and you know not that you will see me any more. Whether you do or do not, I earnestly advise you to make a friend of Mr. Dickinson.³ He is a sensible and a pious man, and has a tender regard for you. I commit you to Him who is able to carry you through all temptations.—I am, dear Sammy,

Your affectionate Uncle.

To William Black

Black had seen some singular cases of convulsion. One sufferer had to be held down, lest he should injure himself ; and he was with

¹ The De Jerneys.

² Peard Dickinson.

³ See letter of Aug. 19, 1784, to him.

difficulty prevented from rushing on Black, who fell on his knees and prayed for him, when the wild agitation ceased. See Richey's *Memoir*, p. 222 ; and for Alexander Anderson, ' this dear man of God and pattern of piety,' pp. 155-6.

GLoucester, March 19, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad to find you are still going on in the glorious work to which you are called. We have need to make haste therein, to use all diligence. For the work is great, the day is short, and lonely is the night wherein no man can work !

It is a kind Providence which has placed Brother Anderson and you in one house. For you may have many opportunities of strengthening each others hands in God.

It is well that Satan is constrained to show himself so plainly in the case of those poor demoniacs. Thereby he weakens his own kingdom and excites us to assault him more zealously. In the beginning of the work in England and Ireland we had many instances of the kind. But he now chooses to assault us by sublety more than by strength.

I wish you would do all you possibly can to keep our brethren in peace with each other. And your pains will not be lost on poor John McGeary.¹ There is much good in him. Indeed, he is naturally of a bold, forward temper ; but I hope his zeal is now according to knowledge.

Undoubtedly you know the objections which John Hoskins makes to John Stretton.² If there is any ground for them, should you not freely and lovingly talk with Brother Stretton.

Praying that you may increase with all the increase of God, I am
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To John Stretton

GLoucester, March 19, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad the little contest between Mr. Balfour and John McGeary is come to a conclusion. It is good advice to every Christian, ' If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.' But, of all others, the Methodists are concerned carefully to follow this advice.

¹ See letters of Feb. 20, 1787, and Feb. 27, 1789.

² See next letter, and that of Nov. 21, 1789.

We are a new people, and consequently must expect that many will be prejudiced against us. And there is no way to remove that prejudice but to overcome evil with good.¹ The experience of Phoebe Bland is an admirably good one, truly consistent both with Scripture and reason; and the account is well drawn up, with good sense, and in remarkably good language.

I have a confused remembrance of some objections against you last year, made, I think, by John Hoskins.² I hope, if there was once some foundation for them, it is now removed. *We* have need to take the utmost care that the good which is in us be not evil spoken of.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

WORCESTER, March 20, 1788.

MY DEAR SALLY,—Mr. Whitefield had for a considerable time thrown up all the food he took. I advised him to slit a large onion across the grain and bind it warm on the pit of his stomach. He vomited no more. Pray apply this to my brother's stomach the next time he eats. One in Yorkshire, who was dying for want of food, as she threw up all she took, was saved by the following means: Boil crusts of white bread to the consistence of a jelly; add a few drops of lemon juice and a little loaf sugar; take a spoonful once or twice an hour. By all means let him try this. If neither of these avail (which I think will not be the case), remember the lady at Paris who lived several weeks without swallowing a grain by applying thin slices of beef to the stomach. But above all let prayer be made continually; and probably he will be stronger after this illness than he has been these ten years. Is anything too hard for God? On Sunday I am to be at Birmingham; on Sunday se'nnight at Madeley, near Shifnal, Salop. My dear Sally, Adieu!

To Miss Wesley, In Chesterfield Street,
Marybone, London,

¹ Stretton was the preacher at letter of Feb. 25, 1785, to him.
Harbour Grace, Newfoundland, See ² See letter of Aug. 10, 1780.

To Agnes Collinson

Miss Collinson was the third daughter of Edward Collinson, a furnishing ironmonger in Lombard Street. Her mother was the daughter of Wesley's friend, Thomas Ball of Bath. Agnes was born on August 31, 1775, and privately baptized by Wesley, who gave her her first ticket in 1789. She married Joseph Bulmer, a London merchant, in 1793, was the intimate friend of Adam Clarke and Jabez Bunting and their families, and wrote the *Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Mortimer* and much sacred poetry. She died at Ryde in 1836, and is buried with her husband and parents at City Road.

[MADELEY, March 28, 1788.]

MY DEAR MAIDEN,—Beware of pride, beware of flattery ; suffer none to commend you to your face ; remember, one good temper is of more value in the sight of God than a thousand good verses. All you want is to have the mind that was in Christ and to walk as Christ walked.—I am, &c.

To Harriet Lewis

Wesley had been at Dudley on the 23rd, and talked with Miss Lewis at John Moon's house. See letters of April 2, 1789 (to her), and November 27, 1789 (to Jeremiah Brettell) ; and for letter to Mary Lewis, July 28, 1775.

MADELEY, March 29, 1788.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You see I cannot refuse anything that you desire ; so I write the first opportunity. I was much surprised at the account which you gave of what had lately befallen your friend. But in the whole course of that strange affair one may discover the hand of God. I am persuaded it was the hand of God for good both in regard to him and you : to him, that he might learn both more patience and resignation in himself, and more meekness and forbearance toward others ; to you, that, being cut off from worldly hope, you might simply and nakedly hang upon the living God ! You have already tasted that He is gracious. Go on ! You are in His school, the school of affliction, where you will always find Him a present help. But He does not yet clearly point out the way that you should go. I was greatly pleased with your openness the other day. May there never be any strangeness between you and, my dear Harriet, Yours most affectionately.

To Mrs. Charles Wesley

MACCLESFIELD, Friday, April 4, 1788.

DEAR SISTER,—Half an hour ago I received a letter from Mr. Bradburn informing me of my brother's death.¹ For eleven or twelve days before, I had not one line concerning him. The last I had was from Charles, which I delayed to answer, expecting every day to receive some further information. We have only now to learn that great lesson, 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord!' If it had been necessary, in order to serve either him or you, I should not have thought much of coming up to London. Indeed, to serve you, or your dear family, in anything that is in my power, will always be a pleasure to, dear sister,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Henry Moore

MACCLESFIELD, April 6, 1788.

DEAR HENRY,—You send me good news. When these soldiers² are removed, you must take the more pains with them henceforth. It is exceedingly strange that the work of God should not yet decay in Dublin. I have not known before a shower of grace continue so long either in Great Britain or Ireland. And it *will* continue if the people continue genuine Methodists, and do not grieve the Holy Spirit of God.³

An organ! *Non defensoribus istis tempus eget.*⁴ This will help them just as old Priam helped Troy.

If Mr. and Mrs. Smyth are gone to England, I doubt Bethesda will droop; but Dr. Coke will be saved from some embarrassment, and will have a smoother path to walk in.⁵

I am, if possible, more fully employed than before since my brother's death. Thus far I am come in my way to North Britain, perhaps for the last time. Lately I have been

¹ Charles Wesley died on March 29. See letter of April 12 to her.

² See letter of Feb. 19 to him.

³ See letter of Jan. 18 to him.

⁴ 'The time does not need such defenders.'

⁵ See letter of May 6.

threatened with blindness¹; but still you and I have two good eyes between us. Let us use them while the day is!—I am, with tender love to Nancy, dear Henry,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

My brother fell asleep so quietly that they who sat by him did not know when he died.

To Mr. Moors, At the New Room,
Dublin.

To Peard Dickinson

Charles Wesley was buried in Marylebone Old Parish Churchyard because the ground at City Road had not been consecrated. The irony of the situation was that the ground at Marylebone had not been consecrated. See letter of April 29.

NEAR STOCKPORT, April 8, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—If Mr. Bradburn's letter of March 29 had been directed to Birmingham, where I then was, I should have taken coach on Sunday the 30th and been with you on Monday the 31st. I shall not be at Manchester till the 10th instead. But all is well; by that mistake I am much further on my journey.

'Tis pity but the remains of my brother had been deposited with me. Certainly that *ground* is *holy* as any in England, and it contains a large quantity of 'bonny dust.' We have all need to stir ourselves up before the Lord and to improve by this providence; and you may improve it much in speaking to the people, as I have done several times. Betsy must accept of my friendship instead of my brother's.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

A Printed Notice.

MANCHESTER, April 12, 1788.

Great are the advantages we have reaped for many years from the continual change of preachers, but this cannot subsist any longer than the places of all the preachers are appointed by one man or body of men. Therefore wherever

¹ He had a pearl on his eye. See letter of May 28 to Mrs. Rogers.

Trustees are to place and displace the preachers this change, which we call Itinerancy, is at an end.

It is for *your* sakes, not my own, that I wish this may continue, and the appointment of preachers, which now lies upon *me*, be afterwards executed by the Conference, not the Trustees of any of the Houses.

Is it possible that Itinerancy should be continued by any other means ?

JOHN WESLEY.

This is all the contest, at present, between me and our brethren at Dewsbury.

To Mrs. Charles Wesley

MANCHESTER, April 12, 1788.

DEAR SISTER,—The account which Mr. Bradburn gave me of my brother's removal was very short and unsatisfactory. But the account which Sally has given me is just as it should be—particular and circumstantial. I doubt not but the few solemn words that he spoke before he went hence will not soon be forgotten, but will prove a lasting blessing to all that heard them.¹ If I may take upon me to give you a little piece of advice, it is,—To keep little company ; you have an handsome occasion of contracting your acquaintance,² and retaining only a small select number, such as you can do good to or receive good from.—I am, my dear Sister,

Your ever affectionate friend and brother.

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

Sarah Wesley wrote on April 4 a detailed account of her father's death. 'His last words which I could hear were, "Lord—my heart,—my God!" He then drew his breath short, and the last so gently, that we knew not exactly the moment in which his happy spirit fled.' See Jackson's *Charles Wesley*, ii. 442-4.

MANCHESTER, April 12, 1788.

MY DEAR SALLY,—I thank you for the account you have given me. It is full and satisfactory. You describe a very

¹ See next letter. Ten days before that ever you were born. I am he died he took Samuel's hand, persuaded I shall ! "'
'and pronounced with a voice of
faith, "I shall bless God to all eternity

² See letter of April 21 to her.

awful scene. The time, I doubt not, was prolonged on purpose that it might make the deeper impression on those that otherwise might soon have forgotten it. What a difference does one moment make!

When the soul springs out of time into eternity, what an amazing change! What are all the pleasures, the business of this world, to a disembodied spirit! Let us, therefore, be ready. For the day is at hand! But the comfort is it cannot part you long from, my dear Sally,

Yours invariably.

To Miss Wesley, In Chesterfield Street,
Marybone, London.

To Peard Dickinson

CHESTER, April 15, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—My brother never knew the value of Dr. Coke while he lived.¹ I wish I had an hundred preachers like him. If you expected me to die within the year, you should not have printed so large editions. For you know not who will buy them when I am gone.² While we live let us live in earnest. I have little fear for Sally, much hope for Charles (to whom I wrote lately), and some for Sammy. He certainly fears God.

I will have the Tunes³ printed as soon as may be. If the corrected copy is lost, they must be printed from the large copy; but the price must be only two shillings and sixpence. Pray consult with T. Olivers where the additional sermons may be most properly inserted.⁴ I have another ready for the press and two more begun.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Adam Clarke

Adam Clarke had chosen some ground in Guernsey within a few yards of the Chapel-of-Ease. The Bailiff had let them have a piece

¹ Charles Wesley was afraid that Dr. Coke was leading his brother to take steps which involved separation from the Church of England.

² A new edition of the four volumes of Wesley's *Sermons* was published

on Jan. 1, 1788, and four other volumes of sermons were in preparation. See Green's *Bibliography*, No. 397.

³ Tunes left by Mr. Rhodes. See letter of March 13.

fifty by forty feet in the middle of the town, had given £50, and said he would take a seat for six in the new chapel. He also promised ten guineas towards the additional windows which Clarke wished to have. Mr. De Jersey and Mr. Walker had arranged to purchase the ground and settle it on the Conference Plan.

Clarke told Brackenbury on March 2 that his visit to Jersey had been productive of good. Mrs. Saumarez came and begged 'to be admitted to the advantages of class-meeting. Her zeal and earnestness are, blessed be God, much increased, as those also of Miss Lempriere, on seeing her companion so hearty in the cause.' See Dunn's *Clarke*, p. 58 ; letter of June 26 ; and for Mrs. George Walker, that of January 8.

LIVERPOOL, *April 17, 1788.*

DEAR ADAM,—Is it not a doubt whether you will be suffered to build a chapel so near the Chapel-of-Ease? I should be afraid one congregation would hinder the other if ever they meet at the same hour. Then in England no house of worship must be built within so many yards of any other. I am glad you have gained Mrs. Saumarez and Miss Lempriere ; and I hope Mrs. Walker, jun., is not lost. When I heard of Jenny Bisson's marriage, I was much afraid she had lost ground. I am glad to hear that you think she is still alive to God ; but I shall be surprised if she be as much alive as ever.¹ So you are a proficient in French. If you come to the Conference, the way will be made plain for you. But if you have not your health in the islands, you must spend part of your time in England.—I am, dear Adam,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Charles Wesley

BLACKBURN, *April 21, 1788.*

You will excuse me, my dear sister, for troubling you with so many letters, for I know not how to help it. I had you and your family so much upon my heart, both for your own sake and for the sake of my brother.

But I am much easier now that I find you are joined with honest John Collinson, whom I know to be not only a man of probity, but likewise a man of diligence and understanding. I am therefore persuaded he will spare no pains in doing what

¹ See letter of May 20 (to Mrs. Cock).

you wish to be done. So that I shall [not] be wanted among you, as he will fully supply my lack of service.¹ I only wish both Charles and Sammy may follow your example and advice² in keeping little company, and those of the best sort, men of sound understanding and solid piety; for such only are fit for the acquaintance of men of sense.

I commit you all to Him that loves you, and am, my dear Sister,
Ever yours.

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

The verses referred to were probably the Swan-song, 'In age and feebleness extreme,' or those quoted in Jackson's *Charles Wesley*, ii. p. 439, as 'written a little before his death':

How long, how often, shall I pray,—
Take all iniquity away;
And give the plenitude of good,
The blessing bought by Jesu's blood;
Concupiscence and pride remove,
And fill me, Lord, with humble love?

BLACKBURN, April 21, 1788.

What a comfort it is, my dear Sally, to think the Lord liveth! Nay, and that our union with our human friends will be more perfect hereafter than it can be while we are encumbered with the house of clay? You did not send me those verses before. They were very proper to be his last, as being worthy of one bought by the blood of the Lamb and just going forth to meet Him!

Now, my Sally, make the best of life. Whereunto you have attained hold fast. But you have not yet received the Spirit of adoption, crying in your heart, Abba, Father! See that you do not stop short of all the promises for you! If you feel your want, it will soon be supplied; and God will seal that word upon your heart, 'I am merciful to thy unrighteousness, and they sins and iniquities I remember no more.' Dear Sally, adieu!

¹ On his return to London Wesley had breakfast with Charles Wesley's family. See letter of July 6, 1788; and for Collinson, that of May 20, 1769.
² See letter of April 12 to her.

To William Simpson

NEAR COLNE, April 26, 1788.

DEAR BILLY,—You did well to expel those who marry ungodly persons,—a real evil which we can never tolerate. You should speak to every believer singly concerning meeting in band. There were always some in Yarm Circuit, though not many. No circuit ever did or ever will flourish unless there are bands in the large Societies.

It is a good sign that so many of our preachers are willing to contribute to those necessary expenses. They used to be much straitened in their bowels whenever money was wanted.

You have now good encouragement to remain another year in the circuit. But you know two preachers do not remain in the same circuit more than one year.—I am, dear Billy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Peard Dickinson

KEIGHLEY, April 29, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I really think it will be proper to publish something in the *Magazine* on that idle Popish conceit of 'Consecrated Ground.' The ground of Bunhill Fields is full as well consecrated as that of St. Luke's Churchyard.¹

You should study every means of keeping up your acquaintance with Sammy Wesley. Both Charles and he stand in much need of serious acquaintance, whether men or women. You should introduce our Betsy to Sally Wesley. They are kindred souls, and I think would soon take acquaintance with each other. If I live till the Conference, I will give her another acquaintance that will be after her own heart. Sister Showell likewise will be a fit acquaintance for her. But let her beware of new acquaintances.

I hope you have found a little house in our neighbourhood. You have both need of much prayer—Peace be with your spirits!—I am Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Henry Moore

Wesley predicted in a letter to Charles on April 6, 1786, that Dr. Coke would have work enough that year with Edward Smyth. In

¹ See letter of April 8.

the Spring of 1788 Coke found on visiting Dublin that many of the Methodists were in the habit of attending Dissenting chapels on Sunday. It was therefore arranged to hold Services in Whitefriars Street Chapel during church hours on three Sundays out of four. On the fourth Sunday the Methodists were invited to go to St. Patrick's Cathedral and receive the sacrament. This gave great offence to Smyth and to his brother and other wealthy Methodists. Wesley was appealed to, and held that Coke had been too warm and should have given more weight to the opinion of those who wanted him not to carry out his plan. No more services were to be held in Whitefriars Street in church hours. This decision was afterwards modified. See letters of April 6 and May 11.

LEEDS, May 6, 1788.

DEAR HENRY,—The Doctor is too warm. He ought to have paid more regard to so respectable a body of men as applied to him. I am a Church-of-England man; and, as I said fifty years ago so I say still, in the Church I will live and die, unless I am thrust out.¹ We must have no more service at Whitefriar's in the church hours. Leave off contention before it be meddled with.

Follow after peace.—I am, with kind love to Nancy,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Henry Moore

WHITEHAVEN, May 11, 1788.

DEAR HENRY,—Still, the more I reflect the more I am convinced that the Methodists ought not to leave the Church. I judge that to lose a thousand, yea ten thousand, of our people would be a less evil than this. 'But many found much comfort in this.' So they would in any *new thing*. I believe Satan himself would give them comfort herein; for he knows what the end would be. Our glorying has hitherto been not to be a separate body: *Hoc Ithacus velit*. But whatever Mr. Smyth does, I am for the old way.² I advise you to abide in it till you find another *new event*, although, indeed, you may expect it every day—namely, the removal of

Your affectionate friend and brother.

With dear love to Nancy.

¹ See letters of Jan. 16, 1783, and May 20 to William Whitestone.

² See letters of May 6 and 16 (to Dr. Coke).

To Dr. Coke

Cownley was now a supernumerary at Newcastle. Coke's suggestion probably was that he should be ordained and become Assistant at Edinburgh, where he was appointed next Conference. His strength was unequal to the strain, and he returned to Newcastle in 1789. See previous letter, and the next.

GLASGOW, May 16, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I came hither this morning. There is a fair opening at Dumfries and a prospect of much good. I like your proposal concerning Joseph Cownley, and will talk with him about it if I live to see Newcastle.

As I said before, so I say still, I cannot, I dare not, leave the Church, for the reasons we all agreed to thirty years ago in the conference at Leeds. Thus far only I could go. On condition that our people would receive the Lord's supper once a month either at St. Patrick's or their own parish church (the reasonableness of which should be strongly and largely explained),—on this condition I would allow Henry Moore to read the morning service at Whitefriar's on the other Sundays.

I wonder at the imprudence of Mr. Edward Smyth to say nothing of his unkindness. You did well in changing the stewards at Waterford.—I am, dear sir,

Yours most affectionately.

To Henry Moore

GLASGOW, May 16, 1788.

DEAR HENRY,—I allow two points: (1) that while Dr. Coke is in Dublin he may have service at eleven on Sunday as before; (2) that, on condition that our brethren will attend St. Patrick's one Sunday in four, you may read prayers the other three in the room.¹ When Dr. Coke returns from Dublin, he should immediately send me word who is proper to succeed you there. I shall be glad, if I can contrive it, to have Nancy and you at Bristol next year. It is not unlikely I may finish my course there; and if so, I should love to have her to close my eyes. My brother said I should 'follow him within the year.' But, be that as it may, by God's help I will live to-day. Love to Nancy.—I am, dear Henry, Ever yours.

¹ See previous letter and that of May 20 (to William Whitestone).

To Mrs. Cock (Jane Bisson)

EDINBURGH, May 20, 1788.

MY DEAR SISTER,—From my long delay to answer, you might conclude I had forgotten you ; but that is impossible. I shall not easily forget the agreeable conversations I had with you at Mont Plaisir and the plain and artless account which from time to time you have given me of your experience. I shall be glad to know how you have found your soul since you altered your condition. You must needs have abundantly more care now than you had in a single life. And are you able still, among all these cares, to attend upon the Lord without distraction ? Does nothing make you unattentive to His presence ? Is there no intermission of your communion with the Father and the Son ? When you have leisure, you will send an answer to,¹ my dear sister,

Yours very affectionately.

You may direct to London.

To William Whitestone

EDINBURGH, May 20, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—From one of Dr. Coke's letters I concluded that you was quite reconciled to the step which he had taken, and I myself can go so far but no further. I will not leave the Church. But on condition that our friends will attend St. Patrick's one Sunday in the month, on the other three I will allow that there should be service at the New Room.¹—
I am, dear Billy,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Rogers

May 28, 1788.

MY DEAR HETTY,—My not hearing from you for so long a time would have given me concern, but I knew it was not from want of affection. I am glad to hear you prosper in your soul ; rest in nothing you have attained, but press on till you are filled with all the fullness of God. In this day of God's

¹ See letters of April 17 and June 26 to Adam Clarke. Methodists. See letters of May 16 and 28 (to Mrs. Rogers).

² Whitestone was one of the Dublin

power I hope many of the backsliders in Cork will be brought back ; there are great numbers of them in and about the city, and many are of the genteeler sort. It seems you have a particular mission to these ; perhaps they will hear none but you. I hope you have already found out Mrs. Forbes (Captain Forbes's wife), and that now she is more than almost persuaded to be a Christian. The pearl on my eye is but just discernible, and dulls the sight a little, but not much. As it grows no worse, I do not much regard it.¹

Mr. Smyth's society, I verily believe, will do us no harm² : and every one may speak of *me* as he will. I am just flying away as a shadow. It more than makes me amends that James and you still love and pray for, my dear Hetty,
Your most affectionate.

To Jasper Winscom

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, May 28, 1788.

DEAR JASPER,—It seems to me the most proper Assistant for the Sarum Circuit (only do not talk of it yet) will be Jasper Winscom.³ I am convinced the person whom I had intended for it is not the proper person. It is exceeding well that the warning was given me before the Conference. We have found it so difficult to drive Calvinism out from among us that we shall not readily let it in again.—I am, dear Jasper,
Yours affectionately.

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, May 29, 1788.

MY DEAR SALLY,—How often does our Lord say to us by His adorable providence, 'What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter' ! And how unspeakable is our gain if we learn only this, To *trust* God further than we can *see* Him ! But this is a stroke that you have long expected. One of fourscore has lived out his date of years ; and it is not strange that he is taken away, but that I am still left ! The

¹ See letter of April 6.

² At Bethesda, Dublin. The controversy about Methodist services in church hours. See previous letter and that of June 7 to Henry Moore.

³ He was received on trial at the Conference, and appointed to the Sarum Circuit, but not as Assistant. See letter of Oct. 20, 1775, to him.

great lesson which you have now to learn is, 'Take no thought for the morrow.' If you do, your fault brings its own punishment. You are to live to-day; you have still a friend, the medicine of life! And you have your great Friend always at hand. There is a rule for *you*, 'When I am in heaviness, I will think upon God.' And it is not lost labour. May the peace of God rest upon you! So prays

Yours in tender affection.

To the Millbourn Society

SUNDERLAND, May 31, 1788.

MY DEAR BRETHREN,—All that you desire (unless I mistake) is the very thing that I desire and design to do. I desire that your house shall be just as the other, and our preachers shall meet the Society, hold lovefeasts, and keep watch-nights in them alternately. If in anything I should give the preference to either, certainly I would to the house in Millbourn Place.¹ What do I want but to do you all the good I can in my few remaining days? We have loved one another long, and God forbid that anything should now part you and

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Blachford

Mrs. Blachford had consulted Wesley as to the marriage of her only daughter Mary, who was beautiful and accomplished, to her cousin Henry Tighe, M.P. It proved a happy union. Mrs. Tighe died in March 1810, after six years of illness. Her poems and her *Psyche* were very popular. See *Life of Henry Moore*, p. 213; and letter of October 15, 1777.

SUNDERLAND, June 3, 1788.

MY DEAR MRS. BLACHFORD,—You state the case clearly and fairly; and when this is done there is no great difficulty in it. Many other objections and plausible ones might be made to the proposal; but certainly those two are the strongest of all and the most difficult to be answered: first, her youth and little experience in the things of the world; and secondly, his little experience in the things of God. He has made a good beginning. He has set on well. But who can tell what the end will be? By reason of the time we cannot suppose

¹ See letters of Jan. 20, 1787, and in Oct. 1788 (to Peter Mill).

him to be much established yet ; and if he should afterwards relapse into his former state, what an insupportable trial must it be to her ! In a strange country and separate from all her religious friends ! Upon the whole, therefore, I cannot but subscribe to your judgement, that you must do nothing suddenly.—I am, my dear sister,

Yours most affectionately.

To Christopher Hopper

In May Wesley 'explained the former part of Rev. xiv.' at Bradford. 'These had ears to hear, and many of them rejoiced with joy full of glory.' See letter of June 26 to Walter Churchey.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, *June 3, 1788.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I said nothing, less or more, in Bradford Church concerning the end of the world, neither concerning *my own* opinion. What I said was that Bengelius had given it as *his* opinion, not that *the world* would then end, but that the Millennial reign of Christ would *begin* in the year 1836. I have no opinion at all upon that head. I can determine nothing about it. These calculations are far above, out of my sight. I have only one thing to do, to save my own soul and those that hear me.—I am, with kind love to Sister Hopper,

Yours affectionately.

To Henry Moore

NEAR NEWCASTLE, *June 7, 1788.*

DEAR HENRY,—I incline to think the battle's over,¹ and you will have peace, provided that none of you return railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing. Beware of showing any coolness to Arthur Keene. You must conquer him by love. I am glad you have not lost Mrs. Blachford.² She is one of our jewels. I love her much. Only you will excuse me if I do not love her so well as Nancy and Becky Moore.³

Now use all your influence in prevailing on our people to attend on the sacrament at St. Patrick's monthly.—I am, dear Henry, yours and my Nancy's

Affectionate friend and brother.

¹ See letter of May 28 to Mrs. Rogers.

² See letter of June 3.

³ See letter of Feb. 19 to Moore.

To Thomas Taylor

Taylor had travelled in Cork in 1764, and again in 1769, soon after his first child was born. He was now in Manchester, where he had to put two disagreeable and over-much righteous men out of the Society. See *Wesley's Veterans*, vii. 78; letter of August 2, 1788, to Ann Taylor; and for 'that execrable bill trade,' December 11, 1787.

NEAR NEWCASTLE, *June 7, 1788.*

DEAR TOMMY,—I have no time to spend on controversy about the Church, unless I had leisure to write a folio. You did well in sending your daughters to Cork. It will very probably re-establish their health.

It is no wonder that every one should be ruined who concerns himself with that execrable bill trade. In London I expel every one out of our Society who has anything to do with it. Whoever endorses a bill (that is, promises to pay) for more than he is worth is either a fool or a knave. I hope this affliction at Manchester will be the means of saving many souls. Peace be with you and yours!—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Fletcher

LONDON, *June 9, 1788.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—I am sincerely glad that you have found an opportunity of transmitting those valuable papers to Mr. Benson. I know no one in England who is more capable of preparing them for the public view,¹ as there is scarcely any one who better understands the whole subject of debate. And now I am in hopes both the points will be carried. On the one hand, Mr. Ireland will be satisfied (who seems to have, though I cannot tell why, an insuperable prejudice to me); and on the other, justice will be done to the memory of blessed Mr. Fletcher. If I live a month or two longer, I shall see you and your relation, of whom I rejoice to hear so good an account.² Who knows what good things God had in store for him, and for what purposes He has brought him to England?

¹ See letters of March 10, 1787, and Sept. 17, 1788. growing up into the spirit of his uncle,' on March 23, 1789. See

² Wesley met 'young Mr. Fletcher, much alive to God, and swiftly *Journal*, vii. 480.

Committing you to His care who has kept you from your youth up, I am, my dear sister,

Most affectionately yours.

To Mrs. Freeman

WHITBY, June 13, 1788.

MY DEAR SISTER,—If all the members of our Society¹ could be persuaded to attend St. Patrick's Church, we should not need the Sunday service at the New Room.² I wish you would always attend the church, except when I am in Dublin; unless you choose to make another—namely, when Dr. Coke is in Dublin. I commend you and yours to Him that loves you; and am, my dear Jenny, Your affectionate brother.

To Walter Churchey

WHITBY, June 14, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Yours of May 24 overtook me here this morning. But I have not received the parcel³ which you say was sent by the coach; and probably I shall not receive it, unless it pleases God to bring me back to London.

Health is wonderfully continued. Only I am in the fashion: I have a little of the rheumatism.

The case of that old woman was very remarkable. It is a true saying, 'None are ruined while they are out of hell.' One would be sorry for the death of George Jarvis, only that we know God does all things well. If Mr. Holmes⁴ has any money of mine in his hands, I desire he would give you a guinea for the widow. Peace be with you and yours!—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. —

Wesley walked through the General Hospital at Nottingham on July 8, 1786, and 'never saw one so well ordered. Neatness, decency, and common sense shine through the whole.' He preached for it on November 11, 1787, 'a friend offering to bear my expenses.' This sermon at Derby, delivered at six from 1 Cor. xiii. 1, brought in £3, which he paid over at Nottingham the next day. See *Journal*, vii. 416; *W.H.S.* v. 164-5.

¹ See letter of May 20, 1789.

July 22 to him.

² Of his *Poems*. See letter of

³ See letter of Feb. 18 to him.

WHITBY, June 14, 1788.

SIR,—I am afraid there will not be much contributed by the poor congregation at Derby. However, I propose to do what I can in favour of so excellent a charity.

Therefore I hope to preach there for the benefit of the General Hospital in my return to London—namely, at five in the evening, on Friday, the 11th of July. That morning I am to come from Sheffield, and on Saturday to be at Nottingham.—I am, sir, Your obedient servant.

To Henry Moore

SCARBOROUGH, Monday, June 16, 1788.

DEAR HENRY,—On Saturday next and on Saturday se'n-night I expect to be at Epworth, near Thorne, Yorkshire [*sic*]; on Monday, July 7, at Doncaster, Yorkshire; and on Monday the 14th at London.

These Meetings will do you no harm at all. Only go quietly on your way. There should be no delay in enlarging the house if you can get a good title to the ground.¹ As far as is possible I should advise you to take no notice, good or bad, of the warm men. Let them say what they will and do what they can. Neddy Smyth² wrote lately to me, and I to him, but without a word of dispute. Probably I shall see Mr. W. Smyth; but if I do, I will not dispute with him. I am a man of peace.

Peace be with you and yours.—I am, dear Henry,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Henry Brooke

The following is quoted in a large folio circular of four pages, Dublin, February 20, 1815, from which the letter of June 14, 1786, is taken.

HULL, June 21, 1788.

Of the Methodists and the Church I think as you do: they *must* not leave the Church—at least, while I live; if they leave it *then*, I expect they will gradually sink into a formal, honourable sect.

Dear Harry, adieu!

¹ See letter of Aug. 8 to Arthur Keene.

² Edward Smyth, of Bethesda, and his brother William, one of the

Dublin Methodists who objected to services in Church hours. Bethesda had been built at his cost.

To Peard Dickinson

THIRSK, June 24, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I do not know any little piece of news which has given me more satisfaction than this, that my Sister Hall has taken a lodging in Th. Philip's house. I hope to see her and you in about a fortnight, that I may have time to prepare for the Conference.¹

You do well not to indulge your thirst after books, but to confine yourself to a very few. I know no commentator on the Bible equal to Bengel. His *Gnomon* is a jewel; so is his *Ordo Temp*²: the finest system of chronology that ever appeared in the world. Now consider with yourself and [set] down whatever relates to the Conference. Peace be with both your spirits!—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To the Rev. Mr. Dickinson, In the City Road,
Near Moorfields, London.

To Walter Churchey

YORK, June 26, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I answered your last. By what means my letter miscarried I cannot tell.³ Above half of that paragraph (which has travelled over most of the kingdom) is very true. The other half is a blunder. What I spoke was a citation from Bengelius, who thought, not that *the world would end*, but that *the Millennium would begin* about the year 1836.⁴ Not that I affirm this myself, nor ever did. I do not determine any of these things: they are too high for me. I only desire to creep on in the vale of humble love. Peace be with you and yours!—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Adam Clarke

Clarke was married on April 17. He wrote Wesley on June 2: 'In April I went to England, and had my affair completed in Trow-

¹ Held at London on July 29.

œconomia divina, 1753.

² His *Gnomon* 'as a brief and suggestive commentary on the New Testament remains unrivalled.' McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*.
Ordo temporum a principio per periodos

³ See letters of June 14 and July 22 to him.

⁴ See letter of June 3 to Christopher Hopper.

bridge Church without the smallest privacy or the least opposition from any quarter ; and, after a stay of only *eleven days*, returned in safety here with your daughter and my wife. Mrs. Cooke said not a single sentence on the one side or other, and Miss Betsey received us both with the most cordial affection, and accompanied us in the chaise to Bath, from whence we took the stage for Southampton. This happy closure of my affair under God I owe to your kind interposition. He who disposed you and prospered you in the benevolent act give you a present and eternal recompense for Jesus's sake ! Amen.' See Dunn's *Clarke*, p. 62.

Clarke had told Wesley of a young man who helped him on Sundays. 'His language is as gross as most you have ever heard, but such a quantity of blunt, new, and striking thoughts, and so fertile an imagination, I have seldom or ever found. Notwithstanding his language, his preaching is attended by high and low with the deepest attention ; he is neither visionary nor mystic.' Mr. Dieuade was in Alderney, and 'I as usual left to do the twofold work in this island' [Jersey].

YORK, *June 26, 1788.*

DEAR ADAM,—I really think the temper and behaviour of the Bailiff is little less than miraculous. I will give you ten pounds. Follow those little advices in building which are set down in the *Large Minutes*.¹ So you stole a match ! Mrs. Cooke's not opposing did, indeed, remove the grand hindrance. I pray do not suffer my dear Molly to be idle ; let her active spirit have full employment. But what becomes of Jenny Bisson²—that was ? I fear your bewitched boy will prove an arrant cheat ; if not, the French convert too.—I am, dear Adam, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To John Mann

John Mann was one of the preachers in Nova Scotia. James Wray appears as elder there in 1788 ; he became an itinerant in 1781, and died in St. Vincent in 1795, 'a plain, simple, pious, devoted young man.' See Atmore's *Memorial*, p. 509.

LONDON, *June 30, 1788.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am greatly concerned for the prosperity of the work of God in Nova Scotia. It seems some way to lie nearer my heart than even that in the United States.

¹ See letters of April 17 and Nov. 5.

² See letters of May 20 and Oct. 12 to Mrs. Cock.

Many of our brethren there are, we may hope, strong in the Lord and in the power of His might ; but I look upon those in the northern provinces to be younger and tender children, and consequently to stand in need of our most anxious care. I hope all of you that watch over them are all of one mind and of one judgement ; that you take care always to speak the same things and to watch over one another in love.

Mr. Wray is a workman that need not be ashamed. I am glad to hear of his safe arrival. Although he has not much learning, he has (which is far better) uprightness of heart and devotedness to God. I doubt not but he and you will be one and go on your way hand in hand.

Whatever opposers you meet with—Calvinists, Papists, Antinomians, and any other—have a particular care that they do not take up too much either of your time or thoughts. You have better work : keep to your one point, Christ dying for us and living in us. So will you fulfil the joy of, my dear brethren,

Your affectionate friend and brother,

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

GRIMSBY, June 30, 1788.

MY DEAR SALLY,—Hemlock I do not approve of. It is a very dangerous medicine. I doubt whether sea-bathing would reach an internal complaint ; I cannot conceive how it should. Although quicksilver compounded with salts is a very strong poison, yet unmixed it is as innocent as milk, especially when an ounce of it is taken in the morning and ten drops of elixir of vitriol in a glass of water at three or four in the afternoon. You may safely use this or the diet drink prescribed in the *Primitive Physick* for ‘ scorbutic sores.’

The Sunday schools have been of great use in every part of England, and to assist in any of them is a noble employment. But perhaps one less fatiguing would suit you better. Perhaps the being the leader of a little class, if I can find a few agreeable young women.

God does not expect us to be sticks or stones. We may *grieve* and yet not murmur. It is very possible to *feel* and still *resign*. And this is Christian resignation.

On Monday, July 14, I expect to be in town.¹ If I can I will endeavour to be in Chesterfield Street on Tuesday.

My dear Sally, adieu !

To Miss Wesley, At the Rev. Mr. Dickinson's,
City Road, Moorfields, London.

To Samuel Bradburn

Wesley did not reach London till eight o'clock on Tuesday night. He went to Chesterfield Street on Saturday morning ; and on Sunday preached twice at City Road Chapel on Hebrews v. 12. His ' daughter ' was Mrs. Vazeille's granddaughter, Jenny Smith. See *Journal*, vii, 416-19, the previous letter, and that of April 21 to Mrs. Charles Wesley.

EPWORTH, July 6, 1788.

DEAR SAMMY,—To-morrow evening I hope to be at Doncaster ; on Wednesday at Sheffield ; and to-morrow se'nnight at London, bringing my daughter with me. That evening I should not object to preaching at West Street. On Tuesday morning I would breakfast in Chesterfield Street if my sister will be ready at eight o'clock. Then I must hide myself till Sunday. I will preach at one or the other chapel for Kingswood. Peace be with you and yours !—I am, dear Sammy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Bradburn, at the New Chapel,
Near Moorfields, London.

To Henry Moore

There are three lines at the close of this letter carefully erased. Moore came to London, but moved to Bristol in 1790.

LONDON, July 16, 1788,

DEAR HENRY,—Take your choice. Either let my dear Nancy Moore come with you hither or follow you to Bristol. If not here, I would fain see her there, because I expect to finish my course within a year, probably either here or there ; but to have her with me at the close would be one of the greatest comforts I could have next to the favour and presence of God.—I am, my own Henry,

Your ever affectionate.

¹ See next letter.

To Mrs. Ward

LONDON, July 16, 1788.

MY DEAR SISTER.¹—You do well in writing freely to me upon whatever occurs to your mind, and you should lose no time, for probably the time is at hand when I shall be called to 'arise and go hence.' I hardly expect to see another May, or perhaps the end of another March; but be that as God pleases.

My remnant of days I spend to His praise,
Who died the whole world to redeem;
Be they many or few, my days are His due,
And they all are devoted to Him.

For upwards of fifty years my language respecting the Church has been just the same as it is now. Yet, whenever I am removed, there can be no doubt but some of the Methodists will separate from it and set up independent meetings: some will accept of livings: the rest (who will, I trust, be the largest third) will continue together on the itinerant plan; and if they abide by their old rules, God will give them His blessing.

It has been the glory of Methodists to assist all parties without forming any. In so doing, God has abundantly blessed them. What could He have done more for them than He has done? Do not they know when they are well? Mr. Rogers should do all that is in his power to quiet the minds of our people.

Your son Richard goes on well. He will be a preacher, either regular or irregular. I think we can make room at Kingswood for the children you mention.

Peace be with you and yours.—I am, my dear sister,
Yours most affectionately.

To Jasper Winscom

Thomas Warwick was the preacher in the Isle of Wight. Some Methodists in Newport wrote Wesley on July 17 about Warwick, 'under whose faithful preaching we have often experienced the power of God, and whose indefatigable labours in both town and country, especially the latter, have merited our highest respect.' They speak of the vile misrepresentations with which his character had been

¹ Mrs. Ward was one of the leading Methodists in Cork, where James Rogers was Assistant. Several of her letters to Wesley are in the *Arminian Mag.* 1788, 326; 1790, 442, 602, 666; 1791, 553.

branded, particularly by Hayter, in whom 'though an old professor,' they had often lamented to see 'the inordinate love of praise.' The Isle of Wight ceased to be a separate circuit at Conference, and was joined to Sarum. See Dyson's *Methodism in the Isle of Wight*, p. 159.

LONDON, July 16, 1788.

DEAR JASPER,—If all our Society at Portsmouth or elsewhere separate from the Church, I cannot help it. But I will not. Therefore I can in no wise consent to the having service in church hours. *You* used to love the Church; then keep to it, and exhort all our people to do the same. If it be true that Brother Hayter is used to talk against the other preachers, as well as against Thomas Warwick, Brother Hayter and I shall not agree. Of dividing circuits we may speak at the Conference.—I am, dear Jasper,

Your affectionate brother.

To Francis Wrigley

Francis Wrigley wrote from Chorley on July 11, saying that he hoped Wesley intended the next Conference to last nine or ten days, and making various suggestions as to the settlement of preaching-places. 'Many of our friends are much prejudiced against the Conference Deed. I am afraid that some of our preachers are too, and have helped the people forward in their prejudice.' He also thinks that some preachers had been 'industrious in dividing of circuits till they have made them as small as parishes.'

LONDON, July 16, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You judge rightly. There is a snake in the grass. Some of the preachers are at the bottom of this senseless opposition to that excellent Deed.¹ If it be possible, find out who they are. But if you do, *your* name shall never be brought into question concerning it.

You are right likewise concerning this continual dividing and subdividing of circuits. This likewise will come naturally into consideration if we should live till the Conference.

Sister Dutton has no claim to anything from our Fund. She knows it well. But we commonly make her a present once a year.—I am, dear Franky,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Wrigley, At the Preaching-house,
In Blackburn, Lancashire.

¹ The Deed of Declaration, 1784.

To Richard Whatcoat

Whatcoat became a preacher in 1769, and in 1784 was ordained an elder by Wesley, and went with Dr. Coke and Thomas Vasey to America, where he was appointed Bishop in 1800, as colleague to Asbury. He was one of the saintliest and most successful preachers, whose 'whole deportment was beautiful and adorned with personal grace.' He died on July 5, 1806. See letter of September 6, 1786, to Dr. Coke.

The American preachers thought Wesley was trespassing on their rights, and actually left his name off their *Minutes*, to which it was restored two years later. 'Question 1: Who are the persons that exercise the episcopal office in the Methodist Church in Europe and America?' 'Answer: John Wesley, Thomas Coke, and Francis Asbury, by regular order and succession.' Asbury certainly laid himself open to Wesley's censure by his conduct in this matter. See letters of September 6, 1786 (to Dr. Coke), and September 20, 1788 (to Asbury).

LONDON, July 17, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am never so busy as not to spare a little time to remember my friends. I have not heard of your taking any step which I disapprove of. It was not *your* fault that you did not reach the office which I assigned you. Brother Casey is very desirous of being stationed either in the English or Irish circuit, and I believe it will be every way for his good. He will be both more holy and more happy than in his American living.

In various parts of England as well as in America God has lately revived up many young men, who are full of life and fire and have spread the fire of love wherever their lot was cast. It was not well judged by Brother Asbury to *suffer*, much less indirectly to encourage, that foolish step in the late Conference. Every preacher present ought both in duty and in prudence to have said, 'Brother Asbury, Mr. Wesley is *your* father, consequently ours, and we will affirm this in the face of all the world.' It is truly probable the disavowing *me* will, as soon as my head is laid, occasion a total breach between the English and American Methodists. They will naturally say, 'If they can do without *us*, we can do without *them*.' But they will find a greater difference than they imagine. Next would follow a separation between themselves. Well, what-

ever may fall out to-morrow, let you and I live to-day!—
I am, dear Richard,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To the Rev. Mr. Whatcoat, At Philip Rogers, Esq.
In Baltimore, Maryland. Post to New York.

To Walter Churchey

Churchey consulted Cowper about his poems, who replied: 'I find your versification smooth, your language correct and forcible, and especially in your translation of *The Art of Painting*. But you ask me, would I advise you to publish? I would advise every man to publish, whose subjects are well chosen, whose sentiments are just and who can afford to be a loser, if that should happen, by his publication.' See *Cowper's Works* (Bohn's edition), iii. 370.

NEAR LONDON, July 22, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad you spoke to Mr. Cowper. What pity is it that such talents as his should be employed in so useless a manner! ¹

Mr. Bradburn delivered your papers to me a few days ago.² But this is so busy a time that I had not time to go through them till to-day. In the translation of *The Art of Painting*³ there are many very good lines; but there are some that want a good deal of filing, and many that are obscure. This is the general fault. The sense is so much crowded that it is not easy to be understood. For many years I have not had any bookseller but Mr. Atlay, and my Assistants. I doubt whether any bookseller will buy Fresnoy. Some of the shorter copies are good sense and good poetry. My brother has left a translation of the Book of Psalms, and verses enough to make up at least six volumes in duodecimo.⁴ I could but ill spare him now I am myself so far declined into the vale of years. But

¹ The reference is to *The Task*. See letters of Sept. 20, 1786, and Sept. 27, 1788.

² See letters of June 26 and Aug. 8 to Churchey.

³ This poem, translated from the Latin of Alphonse du Fresnoy, with notes by R. Graham, fills 98 pages. See letter of Aug. 8.

⁴ He left three small 4to volumes

of hymns and poems, a poetic version of a considerable part of the Book of Psalms (afterwards inserted with short notes in the *Arminian Magazine*), and five 4to volumes of hymns on the Four Gospels and the Acts. See *Postical Works of J. and C. Wesley*; Jackson's *Charles Wesley*, ii. 451.

it is the Lord ; let Him do what seemeth Him good. Our time is now short. Let my dear Sister Churchey and you and I make the best of it.—I am Your affectionate brother.

To W. H. Kilburn

LONDON, July 22, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad to receive a letter from you on any account ; because I love you, and always did. I think you will have reason to praise God for your preachers¹ the ensuing year. And we shall not be unwilling to help you a little further. By-and-by you will be able to help yourselves. Only love one another and serve God in earnest—I am
Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. W. H. Kilburn, At the Preaching-house,
In Norwich.

To Kitty Warren

NEAR LONDON, July 22, 1788.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Our Conference is to begin on the 20th instant, and will continue till the middle of the next month.² I purpose, if God continues my life and health, to leave London the Monday following—namely, August 4. But I must go round by Portsmouth in order to open the new preaching-house.

So that I expect my little journey through Wales will runs thus :

Friday, August 8, Monmouth ; Saturday, 9th, Brecon ; Monday, 11th, Carmarthen ; Tuesday, 12th, Llangwain³ ; Wednesday, 13th, Haverfordwest ; Saturday, 16th, Pembroke ; Monday, 18th, Carmarthen ; Tuesday, 19th, Swansea ; Wednesday, 20th, Cowbridge.

I do not wonder, if Mr. Dufton⁴ disliked the people, that the people should dislike him ; and in that case the work of God must needs be hindered. But I am entirely of your

¹ Conference began on July 29. The Norwich appointments were John Poole, Richard Reece, and Thomas Kelk.

² 'Week.' It closed on Aug. 6.

³ Llwynygwair. See *Journal*, vii. 426-7.

⁴ William Dufton was Assistant at Pembroke. The appointments were William Palmer, C. Bond, and Francis Truscott. Joseph Cole, who had been at Plymouth, went to Ayr and Dumfries.

opinion that it will soon revive if you have acceptable preachers. If he does not much object, I will appoint Josh. Cole for one. Perhaps you could meet me at Llangwain. Peace be with all your spirits !—I am, my dear sister,

Yours very affectionately.

To Alexander Suter

NEAR LONDON, July 23, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—As your life is in danger, I think the sooner you are with your mother the better. And whenever your health will permit, you need not be idle : there is plenty of employment for you in England.¹ Eat as many red currants as ever you can.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Charles Wesley

CITY ROAD, July 25, 1788.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You know well what a regard I had for Miss Gwynne before she was Mrs. Wesley ; and it has not ceased from that time till now. I am persuaded it never will. I find you and your family much upon my heart, both for your own sakes and the sake of my brother. Therefore I will speak without reserve just what comes into my mind.

I have sometimes thought you are a little like me. My wife used to tell me, 'My dear, you are too generous. You don't know the value of money.' I could not wholly deny the charge. Possibly you may sometimes lean to the same extreme. I know you are of a generous spirit. You have an open heart and an open hand. But may it not sometimes be too open, more so than your circumstances will allow.

Is it not an instance of Christian (as well as worldly) prudence, 'To cut our coat according to our cloth ?' If your circumstances are a little narrower, should you not contract your expenses too ? I need but just give you this hint, which I doubt not you will take kindly from, my dear Sally,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

¹ In the *Minutes* for 1788 Suter appointed to St. Ives. See letter of appears as a supernumerary in May 21, 1789. London, but in July 1789 he is

To John Crook

John Crook and David Barrowclough were the preachers in Charlemont, Ireland. The Conference met in London on the 29th.

LONDON, *July 27, 1788.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Is it not enough that I am alive to-day? Let God take thought for what is to come.

Ten pounds will be allowed for Brother Barrowclough and you; six for you, and four for him. You did well in sending the collections to the Conference according to our rules. You see you are no loser by it.

If my life is prolonged, I shall probably set out for Ireland at the usual time—namely, the latter end of March. But how much grace may we receive and how much good may we do before that time!—I am, with kind love to Sister Crook,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To the Trustees of Dewsbury

The Conference appointed a deputation of five preachers to meet the trustees at Dewsbury on August 14; but the trustees would not give way. The preachers were removed, and those appointed to Birstall began Methodism anew by preaching in the open street. John Atlay became minister of the chapel from which the Methodists had been compelled to withdraw. See letters of October 19, 1787, and August 23, 1788.

LONDON, *July 30, 1788.*

MY DEAR BRETHREN,—The question between us is, 'By whom shall the preachers sent from time to time to Dewsbury be judged?' You say, 'By the trustees.' I say, 'By their peers—the preachers met in Conference.' You say, 'Give up this, and we will receive them.' I say, 'I cannot, I dare not, give up this.' Therefore, if you will not receive them on these terms, you renounce connexion with

Your affectionate brother.

To Sarah Mallet

LONDON, *August 2, 1788.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—Let me know any time what books you wish to have, and I will order them to be sent to you.¹ It is

¹ See letters of March 11 and Dec. 26.

a pleasure to me if I can show in anything the regard which I have for you, as I am firmly persuaded that you have a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man. I do not doubt but you have given God your heart, and do in all things wish to do His holy and acceptable will. But if so, it is no wonder that you should meet with crosses, both from the devil and his children, especially as you believe you are called of God to bear a public testimony against him. But you are in far greater danger from applause than from censure ; and it is well for you that one balances the other. But I trust you will never be weary of well doing. In due time you shall reap if you faint not. Whoever praises or dispraises, it is your part to go steadily on, speaking the truth in love. I do not require any of our preachers to license either themselves or the places where they preach.¹ Indeed, a forward young man in Northamptonshire brought some trouble on himself by preaching in church time, and so near the church as to disturb both the minister and the congregation. But that need not fright any other of our preachers. They are just as safe as they were before. Go on, therefore, and fear nothing but sin. And let me know if there be anything wherein I can assist you, which will be a pleasure to, dear Sally,

Yours affectionately.

To our Societies in England and Ireland

This is given in the *Minutes* of 1788. The balance sheet also appears. £1,203 7s. 1d. was raised for the yearly expenses ; of which £688 13s. 6d. had been needed ' for the deficiencies of the preachers and their families in England, Scotland, and Wales.' The preachers had also been ' obliged to go from the house of one friend to another for all their meals, to the great loss of their time and to the injury of the work of God.' ' Let every circuit,' said the Conference, ' provide a sufficient allowance for the preachers, that they may in general eat their meals at their own lodgings.'

LONDON, August 2, 1788.

Fifty years ago and for several years following all our preachers were single men, when in process of time a few of them married. Those with whom they laboured maintained

¹ For the Act, see Tyerman's *Wesley*, iii. 512.

both them and their wives, there being then no settled allowance either for the one or the other. But above thirty years ago it was found most convenient to fix a stated allowance for both ; and this was found by the circuits where they were stationed, till one year some of the circuits complained of poverty. Dr. Coke and I supplied what was wanting. The next year, the number of wives increasing, three or four of them were supplied out of the Contingent Fund. This was a bad precedent, for more and more wives were thrown upon this fund, till it was likely to be swallowed up thereby. We could think of no way to prevent this, but to consider the state of our Societies in England and Ireland, and to beg the members of each circuit to give us that assistance which they can easily do without hurting their families.

Within these fifty years the substance of the Methodists is increased in proportion to their numbers. Therefore, if you are not straitened in your own bowels, this will be no grievance, but you will cheerfully give food and raiment to those who give up all their time and strength and labour to your service.

To Ann Taylor

LONDON, August 2, 1788.

MY DEAR NANCY,—I was well pleased when I heard you were gone to spend a little time in Cork,¹ where you will have an opportunity of conversing familiarly with Sister Ward² and with that blessed woman Sister Rogers. I do not doubt but you will make the best use of these blessed opportunities. Now, my dear maid, is the time when you may improve your understanding and (what is far better) your heart. Now pray earnestly that you may be enabled to give your whole heart to Him who alone is worthy of it.—I am, my dear Nancy,

Yours affectionately.

To Mrs. Ward

LONDON, August 2, 1788.

MY DEAR SISTER,—The thing has been wholly misrepresented. Dr. Coke never *designed* any separation ; but they

¹ See letter of June 7.

² See letters of July 16 and Aug. 2 to her.

urged him to say 'he *wished* for such a thing,' and then faced him down that he *designed* it.¹ He and I have had much conversation together, and he is now as fully persuaded as I am that a general separation from the Church either in England or Ireland would be greatly obstructive of the work of God. I am exceedingly glad that the Dean of Waterford now sees the Methodists in a true light. It would be a great pity that anything should impair the good opinion which he now entertains of them. I have therefore wrote to James Deaves,² and desired him to bear with the little oddities of Richard Condy and to advise all our people in my name to keep close to the Church and Sacrament. I make little doubt but they will take my advice.—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Frances Godfrey

LONDON, August 5, 1788.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You have indeed escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler; the snare is broken, and you are delivered. Certainly you have great reason to praise Him who has brought you to the knowledge of His truth; and not only given you to know but to experience the truth as it is in Jesus. I felt a love for you from the first time I saw you, when you was under those grievous trials.³ Now that you have recovered some measure of health and strength, employ it all to the glory of Him that gave it. Now go on to perfection! Hunger and thirst after righteousness, till you are satisfied therewith; then you will be more and more near to, my dear Fanny,

Yours affectionately.

My love to your mother.

To Mrs. Charles Wesley

Mrs. Charles Wesley's home at Garth had nine children and twenty servants. She lived at Chesterfield Street, Marylebone, ten or twelve

¹ See letter of May 6.

² Condy was Assistant at Waterford. See letter of Feb. 28, 1789 (to Tegart); and for Deaves, that of

Nov. 13, 1785.

³ See letters of July 31, 1784, and Aug. 2, 1789.

years longer. Then the lease ran out, and she moved to a smaller house, 14, Nottingham Street, Marylebone.

NORTH GREEN, August 7, 1788.

DEAR SISTER,—As the Conference ended yesterday afternoon, my hurry is now a little abated. I cannot blame you for having thoughts of removing out of that large house. If you could find a lodging to your mind, it would be preferable on many accounts, and perhaps you might live as much without care as you did in the great mansion at Garth. I was yesterday inquiring of Dr. Whitehead whether Harrogate would not be better for Sally than the sea water.¹ He seems to think it would; and I should not think much of giving her ten or twenty pounds to make a trial. But I wish she could see him first, which she might do any day between seven and eight in the morning. Some of the first moneys I receive I shall set apart for you²; and in everything that is in my power you may depend upon the willing assistance of, dear Sally,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Wesley, In Chesterfield Street,
Marybone,

To Walter Churchey

Wesley's judgement was sound, though Methodist preachers and lay readers did subscribe for the volume. Fresnoy's *The Art of Painting* filled pp. 1-38 of the published *Poems*. See letters of July 22 and December 6 to Churchey.

LONDON, August 8, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I think you know that I love you and that I should rejoice to do anything for you that is in my power. And one allowed proof of love is plain dealing. Therefore I will speak to you without any reserve. There are many good lines, and some very good, both in the ode and in the translation of *The Art of Painting*. And I really think you improve in versifying: you write a good deal better than you did some years ago. You express your sense with more perspicuity than you used to do, and appear to have greater

¹ Sally went to Ramsgate. See letter of Sept. 1. ² See letter of Dec. 21.

variety of words as well as more strength. But there is nothing (to use the modern cant word) sentimental in either the ode or the translation. There is nothing of tender or pathetic, nothing that touches the passions. Therefore no bookseller would venture to buy them, as knowing they will not sell. And they lie utterly out of the way of the Methodists, who do not care to buy or even to read (at least the generality of them) any but religious books. I do not believe all my influence would induce them to buy as many copies as would suffice to pay for the printing.

I have not yet seen my brother's translation of the Psalms. Neither, indeed, could I as yet have time to read it, were it put into my hands.

If any had asked my advice, they would not have thrust out the account of George Lukins ¹ into the world so prematurely. It should have been fully authenticated first. I am, with love to Sister Churchey,

Your affectionate brother.

I expect to be at Brecon on Sunday se'nnight.

To Arthur Keene

LONDON, August 8, 1788.

MY DEAR ARTHUR,—Even at this busy time I must snatch a few minutes to write. You have now an easy way to show your affection for me and your willingness to be advised by me. It is the belief of many that you will see me in Ireland no more. But if I should live till spring, I shall endeavour to visit Dublin at the usual time, about the end of March.² If then you have a real regard for me, see that your preaching-house³ be enlarged without delay.

Forward the building that it may be ready when I come. Do this, and I shall know that you have a love for, my dear Arthur,

Your ever affectionate brother.

My kind love attend Bella and all the little ones.

¹ Lukins had been exorcised in the Vestry of Temple Church, Bristol. See *Journal*, vii. 362.

last visit on March 29, 1789.

² In Whitefriar Street. See letter of June 16.

³ He arrived in Dublin for his

To Lady Maxwell

LONDON, August 8, 1788.

MY DEAR LADY,—It is certain many persons both in Scotland and England would be well pleased to have the same preachers always. But we cannot forsake the plan of acting which we have followed from the beginning. For fifty years God has been pleased to bless the itinerant plan, the last year most of all. It must not be altered till I am removed; and I hope will remain till our Lord comes to reign upon earth.

I do not know (unless it unfits us for the duties of life) that we can have too great a sensibility of human pain. Methinks I should be afraid of losing any degree of this sensibility. I had a son-in-law (now in Abraham's bosom) who quitted his profession, that of a surgeon, for that very reason; because he said it made him less sensible of human pain.¹ And I have known exceeding few persons who have carried this tenderness of spirit to excess. I recollect but one who was constrained to leave off in a great measure visiting the sick because he could not see any one in pain without fainting away. Mr. Charles Perronet was the first person I was acquainted with who was favoured with the same experience as the Marquis De Renty² with regard to the ever-blessed Trinity, Miss Ritchie was the second, Miss Roe (now Mrs. Rogers) the third. I have as yet found but a few instances; so that this is not, as I was at first apt to suppose, the common privilege of all that are 'perfect in love.'³

Pardon me, my dear friend, for my heart is tenderly concerned for you, if I mention one fear I have concerning you, lest, on conversing with some, you should be in any degree warped from Christian simplicity. O do not wish to hide that you are a Methodist! Surely it is best to appear just what you are. I believe you will receive this as a proof of the sincerity with which I am, my dear Lady,

Your ever affectionate servant.

¹ Was this Noah Vazeille?

Renty). See letter of Oct. 3, 1731.

² 'I bear in me ordinarily an experimental verity and a plenitude of the most Holy Trinity, which exalts me to a simple view of God.' (Wesley's *Extract of the Life of Monsieur De*

³ Compare letters of June 11, 1777 (to Hannah Ball), and July 4, 1787, and Lady Maxwell's letters to Alexander Mather in her *Life*, pp. 359-61.

To Ann Bolton

BRERCON, August 15, 1788.

DEAR NANCY,—Last night I received yours at Monmouth. The same complaint which you make of not receiving an answer to your letter another person had just been making. But I had answered you both. I cannot therefore but conclude that both my letters had some way or other miscarried. Since I saw you a young slender girl just beginning to seek salvation I do not remember that you ever offended in anything. But you was always exceeding dear to me. So you are still. And I would show it effectually if my power were equal to my will. I love you the more because you are a daughter of affliction. I suppose you are still in God's school. But you still remember He loveth whom He chasteneth. If you love me still, write freely to, my dear Nancy, Yours very affectionately.

To Miss Bolton, In Witney,
Oxfordshire,

To John Atlay

Atlay, the Book Steward in London, who had previously been an itinerant preacher for nine years, wrote to Wesley on August 19 to say that he had accepted the invitation of the Dewsbury trustees to be their minister. 'But it gives me more pain than I can express when I tell you that in order to go there, I must quit the Book-Room. The longest I can stay in it will be till the 25th of September, and by that time you will be able to get one for my place. I think the fittest man in the world for it is Joseph Bradford. If he should be appointed, he may come directly and stay with us till we go; and by that time I could teach him more than he could learn in three months without me.' He pleads that Wesley would not disown him or forbid his preaching in Methodist chapels where it was agreeable to the preachers. See letters of July 30 and August 31.

PEMBROKE, August 23, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—If you are persuaded that such a promise (which is the whole and sole cause of the breach at Dewsbury) is binding, &c., you must follow your persuasion. You will have blame enough from other persons; my hand shall not be upon you. If I can do you good, I will; but I shall certainly do you no harm. George Whitfield is the person I choose to succeed you. I wish you would teach him as much as you can without delay.—I am, with kind love to Sister Atlay, Your affectionate brother.

To Elizabeth Baker

Wesley had met Miss Baker at Monmouth on August 15. Her elder sister had removed to Cowbridge. But Elizabeth (who afterwards married Mr. Jordan, of Monmouth) 'more than supplies her place. She is a jewel indeed; full of faith and love, and zealous of good works.' See *Journal*, vii. 425; and letters of October 27, 1784 (to Sarah Baker), and September 16, 1788.

CARMARTHEN, August 26, 1788.

MY DEAR BETSY,—Since I had the pleasure of seeing you I have been thinking much on what you said concerning your loving others too much. In one sense this cannot be; you cannot have too much benevolence for the whole human race: but in another sense you may; you may grieve too much for the distresses of others, even so much as to make you incapable of giving them the relief which otherwise you should give them. So I know one that, when he sees any one in strong pain, directly faints away.¹ It is something like this which you mean by feeling too much for others? You can give me two or three instances of it, and then I shall be better able to judge.

Have you a constant witness of the pardoning love of God? And do you find an abiding love to Him? Have you yet been enabled to give Him your whole heart? If so, at what time and in what manner did you receive this blessing?

I think you can speak with all freedom to

Yours very affectionately.

To John Atlay

Atlay replied on August 28 that he had had two hours' conversation with Brother Whitfield the previous night, and that he was 'fully determined not to come into the Book-Room.' He also said that if Wesley would appoint two men of peace to Dewsbury 'I will stay with you.' See letters of August 23 and September 4.

BRISTOL, August 31, 1788.

I pray, Brother Atlay, do not serve me so. If you will not serve me yourself, do not hinder others from serving me. Do not fright George Whitfield from it; but encourage him to it, and instruct him as quick as possible. My death is nothing to the purpose. I have now nothing to do with the

¹ See letter of Aug. 8 to Lady Maxwell.

Dewsbury people: go with them and serve them. But I am still
Your affectionate brother.

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

BRISTOL, September 1, 1788.

MY DEAR SALLY,—I received yours yesterday in the afternoon. As Ramsgate¹ is more private, I am not sorry that you are there, and that you have so suitable a companion.

I think it would be expedient for you to bathe every day, unless you find yourself chilled when you come out. But I do not advise you to drink any sea water. I am persuaded it was never designed to enter any human body for any purpose but to drown it.

The great comfort is that you have a good and wise physician always ready both to advise and to assist. Therefore you are assured health you shall have if health be best. That all things may work together for your good is the prayer of,
my dear Sally, Your ever affectionate Uncle.

To John Atlay

Atlay replied to the letter of August 31: 'I never did hinder George Whitfield from serving you; let him testify if I did.' On September 20 he wrote that he had just finished taking stock, which was estimated at £13,751 18s. 5d., according to the prices fixed in the catalogue. However, you may be sure it is not less than that. Most of these are saleable things. You will be sure to find sale for them if you live; and if not, they will be of equal value to those to whom you leave them. Atlay went to Dewsbury on September 24. Whitfield followed him as Book Steward. See Tyerman's *Wesley*, iii. 557; and letters of August 31 and September 20 (to Henry Moore).

BRISTOL, September 4, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I was once afraid that you had dissuaded George Whitfield from taking charge of the books; but I can take your word. Now I am fully satisfied that you did not; and I believe you will teach him everything relating to that charge. But one thing is much upon my mind: I wish you would hire one or two proper persons, and take an inventory of all the books that are either in the shop or under

¹ See letters of Aug. 7 and Sept. 8.

the chapel. This will be worth all the pains. Then George will know what he has to do.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. John Atlay, New Chapel,
London.

To Thomas Cooper

BRISTOL, September 6, 1788.

DEAR TOMMY,—I will not send any other person into the Derby Circuit if you will be there in two or three weeks.¹ Otherwise I must, or the work of God might suffer in a manner not easy to be repaired. You should have told me at first what your disorder was, and possibly I might have saved you from much pain.—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Thos. Cooper, In Cherry Lane,
Birmingham.

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

John Henderson was sent to Kingswood School, where at the age of eight he was able to teach Latin. He went to Pembroke College, Oxford, and developed special medical gifts, but got lost in Mysticism and gave way to intemperance. When Dr. Johnson visited Oxford in June 1784, Henderson had tea with him, a 'student of Pembroke College, celebrated for his wonderful acquirements in alchemy, judicial astrology, and other abstruse and curious learning.' On March 13, 1789, Wesley spent some time with his father, 'deeply affected with the loss of his only son, who, with as great talents as most men in England, had lived two-and-thirty years and done just nothing.' Wesley told Walter Churchey that he could learn nothing concerning the manner of his death. He died at Oxford on November 2, and was buried at St. George's, Kingswood. See *Journal*, vii. 477; *Arminian Magazine*, 1793, pp. 140-4; Boswell's *Johnson* (Globe edition), p. 640; letter of December 6, 1788; and for Henderson's father, September 9, 1765.

BRISTOL, September 8, 1788.

MY DEAR SALLY,—You shall have just as many friends as will be for your good; and why should not my Betty Ritchie be in the number? I must look to that, if I live to see London again, which will probably be in three weeks.

¹ Cooper, who had been stationed at Birmingham, and was down in the *Minutes* for Plymouth, had been changed to Derby. He was appointed to Wolverhampton in 1789.

If sea water has that effect on you, it is plain you are not to drink it.¹ All the body is full of *imbibing* pores. You take in water enough that way. If your appetite increases, so does your strength, although by insensible degrees.

I have seen John Henderson several times. I hope he does not live in any sin. But it is a great disadvantage that he has nothing to do. I hope we shall find him something.

I have a work in hand that will give you pleasure: I have begun to write my brother's *Life*.² Now, in this you may assist me much. You knew as much of him as most people; and you have the pen of a ready witness. Set down everything you can recollect concerning him. I think between us we shall be able to make something out. You may set down everything you can think of; I can select such a portion as is most proper. You have now leisure for it and for doing good to any whom Providence delivers into your hands. Peace be with your spirit!—I am, my dear Sally,

Yours in tender affection.

To Elizabeth Baker

BRISTOL, September 16, 1788.

MY DEAR BETSY,—One would be apt to imagine that there could be no ill consequence of the deepest concern for the sin and misery of our fellow creatures. But clear, indisputable experience shows the contrary to a demonstration. Lucretia Smith³ (to mention only one instance), a young gentlewoman of our Society here, who found remission of sins long ago and was unblameable in her whole behaviour, reasoned on that question, 'Why does not the God of love make every one as happy as me?' till she lost all her happiness, all her peace, which she never recovered since. Beware, therefore, of reasoning on those points which are far too high for you. Such knowledge is too wonderful for us; we cannot attain unto it. His ways are unsearchable and His judgements a great deep. What He doeth thou knowest not now; it is

¹ See letters of Sept. 1, 1788, and Sept. 17, 1790.

² This work he never accomplished. He died before he had made much

progress in collecting material. See Jackson's *Charles Wesley*, ii. 454; and letter of Sept. 26.

³ See letter of Oct. 21, 1757.

enough that thou shalt know hereafter. I hope you never will be weary of well-doing. Herein your sister Sally is a pattern. She has done unspeakable good since she came to Cowbridge.¹ God sent her thither to revive His work there. When I first heard of her removal from Monmouth, I could not but be troubled at not seeing by what possible means the want of her could be supplied. But it is done already. God has raised you to supply her place. And He will supply all your wants out of the riches of His mercy in Christ Jesus. In what sense do you see God? Are you always sensible of His loving presence? How do you 'rejoice evermore' and 'pray without ceasing and in everything give thanks?' It is certain this is the will of God concerning you in Christ Jesus. Adieu!

To Joseph Benson

BRISTOL, September 17, 1788.

DEAR JOSEPH,—I congratulate you upon the happy increase of your family.¹ And I am glad you have determined to correct Mr. Fletcher's Letters.² You will observe that it is dangerous on such subjects to depart from Scripture either as to language or sentiment. I believe that most of the controversies which have disturbed the Church have arisen from people's wanting to be wise above what is written, not contented with what God has plainly revealed there. And, Joseph, do not you yourself immediately forget this; and immediately move out in a curious metaphysical disquisition about what God has not plainly revealed? What have you or I to do with that difficulty? I dare not, will not, *reason* about it for a moment. I believe just what is revealed, and no more. But I do not pretend to *account* for it, or to solve the difficulties that may attend it. Let angels do this, if they can. But I think they cannot. I think even these would find 'no end, in wandering mazes lost.'³ Some years since, I read about fifty pages of Dr. Watts's ingenious treatise upon the glorified humanity of Christ.⁴ But it so confounded my intellects, and

¹ Wesley had been there in August. Sept. 3.

See letters of Aug. 26, 1788, and Oct. 5, 1789.

² See letter of June 9.

³ *Paradise Lost*, ii. 561.

⁴ A daughter had been born on

⁵ See letter of June 8, 1780.

plunged me into such unprofitable reasonings, yea dangerous even, that I would not have read it through for five hundred pounds. It led him into Arianism. Take care that similar tracts (all of which I abhor) have not the same effect upon you.¹ Pursue that train of reasoning as far as it will go, and it will surely land you either in Socinianism or Deism. I like your thoughts upon Materialism, as, I doubt not, I should those on the Separate Existence of the Soul. It will be best to print at Hull or York, if you can print almost as cheap and can have as good paper. Should there not be a thousand copies? Then you will reserve an hundred of them for yourself.

The matter of Dewsbury you mistake totally. When I met the trustees at Dewsbury they all promised me to settle the house according to the deed then read. *They* flew off from this, not *I*; I desired no more from the beginning to the end. The sum of all was, If any one accuses a preacher whom I send, *I*, not the *accuser*, will be his judge. And this I cannot give up.²—I am, with love to Sister Benson, dear Joseph,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

But hold! Does not Mrs. Fletcher consider this impression as her property?

To Francis Asbury

This is the letter to which Asbury's diary for March 15, 1789, refers: 'Here I received a bitter pill from one of my greatest friends. Praise the Lord for my trials also! May they all be sanctified!' It was the last letter he had from Wesley.

When Wesley directed that a General Conference should be held in 1787 and Whatcoat made Asbury's colleague, Asbury said that 'To appoint a joint superintendent with me were stretches of power we did not understand'; and the preachers and people were not willing to accept orders from England now that the Colonies had become independent. Asbury tells his old friend Jasper Winscom on August 15, 1788: 'I am a bishop and a beggar; our connexion is very poor, our preachers on the frontiers labour the whole year for six or eight pounds.'

¹ Benson was 'busy reading some chapters on the Godhead of Christ to perfect Mr. Fletcher's MSS. on that subject.' His son says in the manuscript *Life*, ii. 1644, that while

writing 'a material change took place in his mind as to the previous existence of the human soul of Christ.'

² See letter of July 30.

I have opened a house for the education of youth which will cost £4,000 to complete it, and the burden lies chiefly on me; so that I can hardly command my one coat and my yearly allowance.' See letters of July 17, 1788, and October 31, 1789.

LONDON, *September 20, 1788.*

[MY DEAR BROTHER],—There is, indeed, a wide difference between the relation wherein you stand to the Americans and the relation wherein I stand to all the Methodists. You are the elder brother of the American Methodists: I am under God the father of the whole family. Therefore I naturally care for you all in a manner no other persons can do. Therefore I in a measure provide for you all; for the supplies which Dr. Coke provides for you, he could not provide were it not for me, were it not that I not only permit him to collect but also support him in so doing.

But in one point, my dear brother, I am a little afraid both the Doctor and you differ from me. I study to be little: you study to be great. I creep: you strut along. I found a school: you a college!¹ nay, and call it after your own names! O beware, do not seek to be something! Let me be nothing, and 'Christ be all in all!'

One instance of this, of your greatness, has given me great concern. How can you, how dare you suffer yourself to be called Bishop? I shudder, I start at the very thought! Men may call me a knave or a fool, a rascal, a scoundrel, and I am content; but they shall never by my consent call me Bishop! For my sake, for God's sake, for Christ's sake put a full end to this! Let the Presbyterians do what they please, but let the Methodists know their calling better.

Thus, my dear Franky, I have told you all that is in my heart. And let this, when I am no more seen, bear witness how sincerely I am Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Henry Moore

BRISTOL, *September 20, 1788.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I have taken place in the mail coach for Sunday se'nnight in the afternoon, so that I shall probably be with you on Monday morning.

¹ Cokesbury College, so called after its founders Coke and Asbury, was twice burnt down.

Pray tell George Whitfield to settle himself in the Book-Room without delay, as John Atlay has appointed to leave it on the 25th instant.¹ I beg of Brother Rankin and you to advise and assist him to the uttermost of your power. Many croakers, no doubt, will strive to discourage him; therefore strengthen his hands all you can.—I am, with much love to my Nancy, dear Henry,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. —

BRISTOL, September 20, 1788.

MY DEAR FRIEND,—The question properly refers (when we speak of a separation from the Church) to a total and immediate separation. Such was that of Mr. Lingham's people first, and afterwards that of Lady Huntingdon's; who all agreed to form themselves into a separate body without delay, to go to church no more, and to have no more connexion with the Church of England than with the Church of Rome.

Such a separation I have always declared against; and certainly it will not take place (if ever it does) while I live. But a kind of separation has already taken place, and will inevitably spread, though by slow degrees. Those ministers (so called) who neither live nor preach the gospel I dare not say are sent of God. Where one of these is settled, many of the Methodists dare not attend his ministry; so, if there be no other church in that neighbourhood, they go to church no more. This is the case in a few places already, and it will be the case in more; and no one can justly blame me for this, neither is it contrary to any of my professions.

To Mrs. Charles Wesley

The annuity of £100 settled on Charles Wesley at his marriage was continued to his widow till her death. See Jackson's *Charles Wesley*, ii. 452-3; and letters of August 7 and September 26.

BRISTOL, September 22, 1788.

DEAR SISTER,—As John Atlay has deserted me and George Whitfield is but just come into his place, I do not yet know anything of my own circumstances. But I hope to be in town

¹ See letters of Sept. 4 and 24.

on Monday ; and, either for the sake of you or my dear Sally, I shall certainly do anything that is in the power of, dear sister,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To John Atlay

Atlay wished Wesley to yield the whole point in question and supply preachers to Dewsbury. He had said in his letter of September 20 that he was informed Wesley had been saying that he would not leave the Book-Room to make way for Whitfield, and that he must come up to London in order to get him out. This letter was sent to Atlay at Dewsbury, and closed the correspondence, which Atlay published in January 1790. He knew Wesley's mind, and proved himself unfaithful to his duty. See letters of September 20, 1788, and July 17, 1789, to Henry Moore, and February 25, 1790.

BRISTOL, September 24, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—From the time that you gave me warning of quitting my service and informed me you was determined to stay no longer with me (unless upon impossible conditions) than the 25th instant, I resolved to say nothing more or less about it, but to let the matter go as it would go. Whether you made a wise choice in preferring your present to your former station we shall see, if you and I should live two or three years longer. Meantime I am as ever

Your affectionate brother.

PS.—I say nothing about you to the people of Bristol.

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

BRISTOL, September 26, 1788.

DEAR SALLY,—The reading of those poisonous writers the Mystics confounded the intellects of both my brother and Mr. Fletcher and made them afraid of (what ought to have been their glory) the letting their light shine before men. Therefore I do not wonder that he was so unwilling to speak of himself, and consequently that you knew so little about him.¹

The same wrong humility continually inculcated by those writers would induce him to discontinue the writing his *Journal*. When I see those detached papers you speak of, I shall easily judge whether any of them are proper to be published.

¹ See letter of Sept. 8.

On Monday I expect to be in town; but I shall leave it again on Wednesday and set out for Norfolk and Suffolk. Afterward I shall visit (if God permit) the other northern circuits till the end of October. Then I visit the classes the first two weeks in November. So that I shall not reach Canterbury before November 24. But do not you want money? ¹ You can speak freely to, my dear Sally,

Yours most affectionately.

To Walter Churchey

BRISTOL, September 27, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—To-morrow evening I am to set out for London. So I still creep up and down, as I would fain do a little work before the night cometh wherein no man can work. I commend you much for not suffering your daughter to go you know not where. What would it profit her to gain a thousand pounds and then lose her soul? which could scarce fail to be the consequence of placing her in an ungodly family. I do not know anything in Bristol that would suit; but very probably I may find something in London.

I should be glad if I could have a conversation with Mr. Cowper. I verily think there would be no great difference between us.²

September 27, LONDON.

I think it is a pity to burn the poems. There are many good lines in them.² So there are in the Dedication, which I thought I had sent you with the rest. I will send two of the Prayer-Books by the first opportunity. Peace be with you and yours.—I am Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Churchey, Near the Hay, Brecon.

To Lady Maxwell

The late Lady Glenorchy and Lady Hope had purchased land for a chapel at the Hot Wells, Bristol; and Lady Maxwell, by the appointment of Lady Glenorchy, had to carry this into effect. She left Edin-

¹ See letter of Sept. 22.

to Churchey.

² See letters of July 22 and Dec. 6

² See letter of Aug. 8 to him.

burgh on October 11, and arrived in Bristol on the 27th. The chapel was called Hope Chapel. See Lancaster's *Life of Lady Maxwell*, p. 348.

LONDON, September 30, 1788.

MY DEAR LADY,—For many years a great person professed and I believe had a great regard for me.¹ I therefore believed it my duty to speak with all freedom, which I did in a long letter. But she was so displeased that she said to a friend, 'I hate Mr. Wesley above all the creatures upon earth.'

I now believe it my duty to write freely to you. Will it have the same effect? Certainly I would not run the hazard, did I not regard your happiness more than your favour. Therefore I will speak. May God enable you not only to pardon it, but to profit thereby! Indeed, unless you profit by it, I do not expect you to forgive.

Be pleased to observe I do not affirm anything; I only beg you calmly to consider, Would it be right for me to propagate a doctrine which I believed to be false? particularly if it were not only false but dangerous to the souls of men, frequently hindering their growth in grace, stopping their pursuit of holiness?

And is it right in you to do this? You believe the doctrine of Absolute Predestination is false. Is it, then, right for you to propagate this doctrine in any kind or degree, particularly as it is not only false but a very dangerous doctrine, as we have seen a thousand times? Does it not hinder the work of God in the soul, feed all evil and weaken all good tempers, turn many quite out of the way of life and drive them back to perdition?

Is not Calvinism the very antidote of Methodism, the most deadly and successful enemy which it ever had? 'But my friend desired that I would propagate it, and lodged money with me for this very purpose.' What then? May I destroy souls because my friend desired it? Ought you not rather to throw that money into the sea? O let not any money or any friend move you to propagate a lie, to strike at the root of Methodism, to grieve the holiest of your friends, and to endanger your own soul!

Living or dying, I shall always be, my dear Lady,

Your most affectionate servant.

¹ The Countess of Huntingdon.

*To Jasper Winscom*LONDON, *September 30, 1788.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—The Conference cannot and will not bear the expense of that foolish law suit. I can conceive but one way to pay it. The hundred pounds which you borrowed of me you may pay to the attorney, and his receipt in full shall be your discharge.¹—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Walter Griffith (?)

This letter is probably addressed to Walter Griffith, then Assistant at Newry. He was a native of Clogheen in co. Tipperary, who had been converted in Dublin in 1780 and became a zealous and successful itinerant in 1784.

LONDON, *October 10, 1788.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It is certain you cannot preach the truth without offending those who preach the contrary. Nevertheless, you must preach it, only in the mildest and [most] inoffensive manner the thing will admit of. And beware that you never return evil for evil or railing for railing, but contrariwise blessing.

You cannot constrain any one to go to church; you can only advise them to it, and encourage them by your example.

My kind love to your wife.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To James Bogle

Bogle was Assistant at Berwick. He had made a suggestion for 'the division of Scotland into the three southern circuits,' which was put into execution at the Conference of 1789. Glasgow now became a circuit, and Bogle was appointed to it. See letter of August 1, 1789, to him.

LONDON, *October 11, 1788.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It is an excellent plan. The sooner you put it in execution the better; only see that you be all punctual to follow one another exactly. Let not a little hindrance or inconvenience put you out of your way;—sup-

¹ See letters of Sept. 13, 1785, and June 17, 1786.

pose a shower of rain or snow. Press on! Break through! Take up your cross each of you and follow your Master; so shall the world and the devil fall under your feet.—I am, dear
 Jemmy, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Cock

LONDON, October 12, 1788.

MY DEAR SISTER,—It gives me much pleasure to find you are still happy in God, leaning upon your Beloved. O may you increase therein more and more! May you be more and more holy, and you will be more and more happy! ¹ This I long for, even your perfection, your growing up in all things into Him that is our Head. O may you never endeavour

Love's all-sufficient sea to raise
 By drops of creature happiness!

I sent you a little book or two by Mr. Clarke. If I can be of any service to you in anything, it would be an unspeakable satisfaction to, my dear sister, Yours affectionately.

To Joseph Cownley

LONDON, October 12, 1788.

DEAR JOSEPH,—I really think you have hardly had so much scandal as one might expect would fall to your share. I have heard very few faults found with you for above these forty years, and I think you and I have not had one quarrel yet. So it is very probable we never shall.

What relates to expense we can set right. But the other evil is more hard to be remedied, because many of the preachers, especially in Scotland, are got above my hand. I never desired them to have service *thrice* a day; I knew it would be too hard for most of them. I never advised them to symbolize¹ with the Scots. I told them over and over. It was needless. We might have done in Scotland just as we did in England. Dr. Hamilton was already convinced of

¹ See letters of June 26 (to Adam Clarke) and Dec. 27.

² To agree in belief or practice. Neal says of Hooper: 'To continue

the use of their garments was in his opinion to symbolize with Antichrist' (*History of the Puritans*, i. 69).

it. What can be done now I cannot tell. But certainly the preachers must not kill themselves. Retrench what part of the Sunday service you please, and I will not blame you. I do not see why the collection may not be made at six, with a little preamble telling them the real case. This may answer just as well. Lay it upon me. Say, 'Mr. Wesley charges me not to murder myself.'

Dr. Coke did forget, but is now writing your letters of Orders.—I ever am, dear Joseph,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

Rev. Mr. Cownley, Minister of the Methodist Church,
Leith-Wind, Edinburgh.

To the Rev. Mr. Heath

LONDON, October 20, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I am of the same mind with you that it will be well for you to return to your native country.¹ If you was here, I think we would hardly part again as long as I lived. I have no doubt of finding you employment in England. All the difficulty is how to get over. Dr. Coke is not pleased with a letter sent to Mr. Asbury and transmitted to him wherein you are charged with neglect of the children; but you have an opportunity of answering for yourself. Perhaps you was so unhinged and discouraged by finding things otherwise than you expected that you had not the heart to apply yourself to anything as diligently as you was used to do. However that be, I should be right glad to see you well landed in England; and that God may bring you in the full blessing of the gospel of peace is the prayer of, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To the Rev. Mr. Heath, At Cokesbury College.
To be left at Philip Rogers, Esq.,
In Baltimore, Maryland.

To Edward Jackson

LONDON, October 24, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I commend you for denying tickets to all that have neglected meeting their classes, unless they

¹ See letters of Aug. 6, 1787, and Dec. 2, 1788.

seriously promise to meet them for the time to come. You cannot be too exact in this. You do well likewise to exhort all the believers that are in earnest or *would be* in earnest to meet in band. But the bands in every place need continual instruction ; for they are continually flying in pieces.¹ But the grand means of the revival of the work of God in Sheffield² was the prayer-meetings. There were then twelve of them in various parts of the town every Sunday night. Keep up these, and you will keep up the flame.—I am, with love to Sister Jackson, dear Edward,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Jackson, At the Preaching-house,
In Sheffield,

To William Stephens

William Stevens, a native of Plymouth Dock, ceased to travel in 1802 through ill health. For four years he was English Master at Kingswood, and then had a private school on Kingswood Hill till his death in 1813.

LONDON, October 31, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You do well to write without disguise. Otherwise I should not be able to judge. As you state the matter I cannot but agree with you that you are called to marry. But 'tis pity that you had not told me these things as plainly before the Conference. Then I could have made the way plain for you which now will be attended with some difficulty.—I am, dear Billy, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Will. Stephens, At the Preaching-house,
In Cardiff.

To John Valton

LONDON, October 31, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Whoever they were written by the rules are excellent rules ; and I should have no objection to your printing them in the manner you mention. One thing is certain, that it would be some advantage to the poor printer ; and it is probable that the rules would be useful to a serious reader.

¹ See letter of Jan. 6, 1781.

² Jackson was Assistant there.

I think if you used decoction of nettles every morning (if you have not done it already) it might restore your strength.—I am, with love to Sister Valton,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Peter Mill

Peter Mill was appointed Assistant at Newcastle by the Conference which met on July 29, with positive instructions to bring the Millbourn Chapel case to a settlement. See *W.H.S.* iv. 228; and letters of May 31 and November (to William Smith).

[October 1788.]

DEAR PETER,—Alter that vile plan of yours so that the poor people at [Haworth] may have preaching every Sunday morning at nine; and put down the chanting at Shields; and show that you regard

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Thomas Carlill

Carlill was Assistant at Horncastle in 1787 with two colleagues. At the Conference of 1788 a third preacher was appointed.

Lecky says that during the whole summer of 1788 George III's health had been visibly impaired. On November 5 he burst into such open and violent delirium that he had to be placed under strict restraint. Wesley 'ordered all our brethren in Great Britain and Ireland to observe' February 25, 1789, with fasting and prayer for the recovery of His Majesty's health; but on February 19 the doctors pronounced the King convalescent, and the day was turned into one of thanksgiving. See *Journal*, vii. 471; *Lecky's England*, v. 379.

[November 1788.]

DEAR TOMMY,—We have suffered much inconvenience by taking in more preachers than we were able to keep, or indeed to employ, without their staying in one place longer than was good either for *them* or for the *people*. And this is a wrong time of year to send out young preachers, especially into the fens of Lincolnshire. You must therefore make the best shift that you can till towards spring.

I am glad to hear that you go on in love and peace with each other.

All our brethren should pray fervently and continually for the King. Nothing but the mighty power of God can restore him.—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Peter Mill

When Mill preached at Millbourn Place for the first time, he read out Wesley's instructions as to the discontinuance of some objectionable features in the chanting. He disclaimed any personal bias and made some unguarded reference to Wesley's humour which drew forth this remonstrance. See previous letter.

LONDON, November [3 or 4], 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—My humour was as much out of the question as my stature. My objection to the chanting the Psalms was, we have no such thing among the Methodists. But when I was informed they were not the reading Psalms which were chanted but only the hymns in the morning and evening service, my objections of course fell to the ground. But as this little dispute is now at an end, there will be no need of saying any more, only that courtesy and brotherly love require it.—I am Your affectionate brother.

To Adam Clarke

Clarke was detained for three months in Guernsey through the indisposition of John Bredin, the Assistant there. He was appointed Assistant at Bristol in 1789. The new chapel in Jersey was being built, and they needed all the money they could raise for that purpose rather than for Dr. Coke's missions. The cost was £600, and upwards of £400 was 'the liberal contribution of our handful of blessed people.' A few friends had lent Clarke money, and this he had since been able to repay. See Dunn's *Clarke*, p. 65; and letters of June 26, 1788 (to Clarke), and February 24, 1790.

LONDON, November 5, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am always well pleased to hear from you. I am glad you visit Guernsey. You must in no wise confine yourself to Jersey. It would be a sin against God and the people. You ought not to spend more than twice as much time in Jersey as you do out of it. It would have been quite wrong to have made a collection for Dr. Coke at this critical time. The Doctor is often too hasty. He does not maturely consider all circumstances. If you have any money in your hands, you may expend what I subscribed and draw upon me for it. Probably at the Conference your sphere of action will be enlarged. I hope in the meantime you will not suffer Sister Clarke to be unemployed. See that she fulfil the

office of a deaconess. Peace be with all your spirits ! I think it will be well to sell the old chapel.¹—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Benjamin Rhodes

LONDON, November 6, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad to hear that Sister Rhodes begins to recover her strength. It has been observed for many years that some at Redruth were apt to *despise* and very willing to *govern* their preachers. But I commend *you* for standing in your place, and changing both general and particular stewards.²

The case of Rd. Phillips I refer wholly to *you*. But if his gifts be tolerable (as we at London thought), let him not be oppressed.³—I am, with love to Sister Rhodes,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To John Blunt

This letter is endorsed 'Wesley—answers.' John Blunt was probably a class-leader. His occupation is not certain, though it may have been legal. He and one of his sons were deeply impressed by Wesley and were great friends of his, though Blunt was a keen Churchman and disliked some of Wesley's methods. The son went about a good deal with Wesley. They were very well to do. The eldest son was Master in Chancery in 1849, Charles was Consul at Smyrna, George a judge at Meerut, Henry in East India Company's Army, Walter a clergyman. Henry Moore and Samuel Bradburn were stationed in London ; John Edwards was one of Wesley's preachers, who conducted a preaching-tour from Land's End to the North of Yorkshire at his own expense. He built the first chapel in Lambeth, and charged no rent for it ; Wesley opened it on January 7, 1779. His wife had a school with nearly a hundred girls, and maintained and educated more than twelve ministers' daughters. (See *Journal*, vii. 344.)

CITY ROAD, November 7, 1788.

BROTHER BLUNT,—I am constrained to tell you you use me ill. Be you ever so great a man and I ever so little, you owe it to me to give me an account at the stated times of those souls

¹ See letter of June 1, 1789.

² See letter of Jan. 7, 1789.

³ Benjamin Rhodes, Samuel Bardsley, and Richard Phillips (who had

been admitted on trial at the London Conference in August) were appointed at Redruth.

I have entrusted you with, for whom I am to give an account to God.

Now I am speaking (perhaps the last time), friendship compels me to speak plain. Of all the men I have conversed with in London or in England, I think you have the most pride, you are above measure self-conceited and full of yourself. Whereas you are by no means equal even in sense to those whom you despise—Mr. Bradburn, Moore and John Edwards, for instance. Their natural understanding is stronger than yours, and is likewise far better improved.

O humble yourself before God and man ! Despise no man but yourself ! Learn to say from your heart, ' Lord, I am not high-minded ! I have no proud looks ! ' Then you will give as much pleasure as you have frequently given pain to

Your affectionate brother.

To Robert Carr Brackenbury

LONDON, November 7, 1788.

DEAR SIR,—I snatch a few minutes from visiting the classes to answer your acceptable letter. I exceedingly approve of your spending the winter at Bath.¹ I believe God will make you of use to many there, who are more ripe for your instructions than ever they were before. And I am persuaded you will yourself profit as much if not more by the conversation of a few in Bristol, Mr. Valton and Miss Johnson² in particular, as by that of any persons in Great Britain. Aim at the cheerfulness of faith.—I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Charles Bland

Bland was the second preacher in the Oxfordshire Circuit. Wesley evidently refers to books coming with the December *Arminian Magazine*. For Mr. Jacques (Jaquis), probably the layman who had given some anxiety to the preacher at High Wycombe, see letters of January 19, 1773, and February 24, 1779 (to Hannah Ball).

¹ Brackenbury's health was poor, of Sept. 15, 1790.

and he finally retired from the Channel Islands in 1789. See letter ² See letter of Dec. 12, 1786.

LONDON, November 8, 1788.

DEAR CHARLES,—The *Notes on the New Testament* and the *Appeals* will come with the next Oxford Magazines. If you all exert yourselves, the work of God will prosper throughout the circuit. I pray remember two things; first, Bear with Mr. Jaquis: there is honesty at the bottom. Secondly, let none of you ever omit the morning preaching at Wycombe, Oxford, or Witney.—I am, dear Charles,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. C. Bland, At the Preaching-house, In High Wycombe,

To Jasper Winscom

LONDON, November 8, 1788.

DEAR JASPER,—William Cashman¹ advised you like an heathen. Mr. Valton *deserves* pay as well as you do.² But he does not want it, and therefore scorns to take it, knowing the poverty of the land.

I am glad to hear so good an account of the isle. The work of God will flourish there if it be steadily pursued. No preacher ought to stay either at Portsmouth, or Sarum, or any other place a whole week together. That is not the Methodist plan at all. It is a novel abuse.

I hope you have finished the matter with the attorney³; and am, dear Jasper,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Jasper Winscom, At the Preaching-house, Near Sarum.

To William Smith

Smith, who had married Miss Vazeille, was circuit steward at Newcastle. He was evidently anxious to remain friends with Coates and the Millbourn Place trustees in North Shields. But they declined to settle their preaching-house on the Methodist plan. See letters of October and November 3 to Peter Mill, and December to Edward Coates.

¹ Probably William Ashman, who was now at Tiverton. See letter of Oct. 23, 1786.

² Valton was now a supernumerary

at Bristol, and was able to accept invitations to preach in other circuits. See *Wesley's Veterans*, vi. 104.

³ See letter of Sept. 30.

LONDON, November [10], 1788.

DEAR BILLY,—How is this? Do you owe E. Coates money, or does he owe you money, that you will not break off with that rogue, that knave that is cheating me out of my property? I insist upon your never darkening his doors more, or renounce all connection with your brother John Wesley. And at the same time give positive orders for the preachers to be withdrawn from Millbourn Place.

To Mrs. Crosby

LAMBETH, November 13, 1788.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I thank you for your account of the death of Miss Corkle, which is highly remarkable. It ought not to be hid under a bushel; so I shall order it to be inserted in the *Magazine*.

It is very remarkable that, as Brother Peacock has been growing in grace for some years, so God has been increasing his gifts and has been giving him more and more favour among the people to whom he was sent. I know no reason why he may not spend another year at Leeds.

I have had more pain (chiefly rheumatical) within these few months than I had for forty years before, and in September my strength swiftly decayed. But it has pleased God now to restore it, and I am nearly as I was twenty years ago. Probably, if I live, I shall see you at Leeds in summer. Peace be with all your spirits!—I am, my dear sister,

Your ever affectionate brother.

To Joseph Taylor

LONDON, November 16, 1788.

DEAR JOSEPH,—I take knowledge of your spirit, and believe it is your desire to do all things right. Our friends at Newark should not have forgotten that we have determined over and over 'not to leave the Church.' Before they had given you that foolish advice they should have consulted me. I desire you would not wear the *surplice* nor administer the Lord's supper any more.¹—I am, dear Joseph,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

¹ Taylor had been ordained for Scotland. See letters of Nov. 11, 1786, and Feb. 11, 1789, to him.

To Edward Coates

LONDON, December 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I have all my life been a lover of peace, and am not less so now than I was fifty years ago. Therefore, as to warm words spoken to you or any other, let them pass; they are not worth rehearsing. There is only one charge which is of consequence, that you will not settle the house on the Methodist plan. This is exactly the case of the Dewsbury house; and if you persist in the resolution, you will constrain us to proceed in the same manner.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Henry Moore

CHATHAM, December 2, 1788.

DEAR HENRY,—You will seal and put Mr. A. G——'s¹ letter into the post. And pray write strongly to Dr. Coke, begging him to beware of being imposed upon again, as it is plain he has been hitherto. Remind him also that he and I took Mr. Heath from his livelihood, and (whether he has behaved well or ill) are obliged in honour and in conscience to bring him home. I will give fifty pounds towards it.² Tell him of 'Cæsar and Pompey.'—I am, dear Henry,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

Direct to Dr. Coke, Charleston, South Carolina.

To Walter Churchey

In 'Lines to William Cowper,' included in his *Poems*, Churchey refers to 'my lov'd Henderson,' and says in a note, 'with whom the author had the honour of intimacy from his earliest days.'

The grave, the gay, the learned, and the good,
Sat listening round him, subjects to his sense,
In every line an equal to them all,
Yet unassuming, lovely as a child
That nothing knew.

See letters of August 8, 1788, and February 11, 1789, to Churchey; and for Henderson, September 8, 1788.

¹ See letters of November 1788 to William Smith, and April 11, 1789, to Peter Mill.

² Name illegible.

³ See letters of Oct. 20, 1788, and June 26, 1789.

LONDON, *December 6, 1788.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad you wrote to poor Mr. Henderson : for certainly he stands in great need of comfort ; and he must now needs seek it in God, for all other streams are cut off.

I cannot learn anything concerning the manner of John Henderson's death, whether it was with or without hope ; as I cannot find that any of his religious friends were near him at that important season.

The Methodists in general have very little taste for any poems but those of a religious or a moral kind ; and my brother has amply provided them with these. Besides those that are already printed, I have six volumes of his poems in manuscript. However, if you furnish me with the proposals, I will do you what little service I can.

I should be glad to see or hear from Mr. Cowper¹ ; but I have no means of access to him at all.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Peter Mill

LONDON, *December 20, 1788.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It does not appear to me that you have taken any wrong step with regard to North Shields. I think (as you do) that our friend whom you mention is prejudiced in favour of those warm men. As to T. Gibson, you are a little prejudiced against him. He is not a turbulent man. But he sees blots, and would fain cure them if he could. I pray, talk with him alone. You do not know him. However, for the present, the General Stewards may stand as they are. But see that they do their duty.—I am, with love to Sister Mill, dear Peter, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Mill, At the Orphan House,
Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

To Mrs. Charles Wesley

CITY ROAD, *December 21, 1788.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—It is undoubtedly true that some silly people (whether in the Society or not, I cannot tell) have

¹ See letters of Sept. 27, 1788, and Feb. 22, 1791.

frequently talked in that manner both of my brother and me. They have said that we were well paid for our labours. And, indeed, so we were; but not by man. Yet this is no more than we were to expect, especially from busybodies in other men's matters. And it is no more possible to restrain their tongues than it is to bind up the wind. But it is sufficient for us that our own consciences condemned us not and that our record is with the Most High.

What has concerned me more than this idle slander is a trial of another kind. I supposed, when John Atlay left me, that he had left me one or two hundred pounds beforehand.¹ On the contrary, I am one or two hundred pounds behindhand, and shall not recover myself till after Christmas. Some of the first moneys I receive I shall set apart for you. And in everything that is in my power you may depend upon the willing assistance of,² dear Sally,

Your affectionate friend and Brother.

To Sarah Mallet

LONDON, December 26, 1788.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I answered your letter long ago, and desired Mr. Whitfield to send my letter with the Magazines which he was sending to Norwich, desiring withal that the next preacher who went to Long Stratton would give it you. But for the time to come whenever I write I will send the letter by post, and I can easily make up the expense.³

I am well pleased to find that you have regard for me; so have I for you. And it is therefore a pleasure to me to serve you in anything that is within my power. Indeed, I could not so well send the *Notes on the Old Testament*, as the edition is nearly sold off, and we have very few of them left, which are reserved to make up full sets. But any other books are at your service. I want to forward you in all useful knowledge,

¹ See letter of Sept. 4.

² His Diary for 1788 shows that he gave £210 to his brother's family and £81 10s. to Mrs. Hall and his nieces. See *Journal*, vii. 464; and letter of Dec. 20, 1790.

³ He had given it to his Book Steward to be forwarded, so that Miss Mallet might not be put to expense, as she was poor. See letters of Aug. 2, 1788, and Feb. 21, 1789, to her.

which indeed lies in a very narrow compass. You do not expect to go through life without crosses; and some will fall upon you on *my account*; for *my taking notice of you may bring envy upon you*. But in your patience possess your soul. Please God, and it is enough. Go steadily and quietly on in the way wherein *Providence leads you*, and in every temptation He by His Spirit will clear a way for you to escape. If any particular difficulty or trial comes upon you, do not fail to let me know. None can be more ready to assist you than, my dear Sally,

Yours affectionately.

To Mrs. Cock

LONDON, December 27, 1788,

MY DEAR SISTER,—I was glad to receive a few lines from you. From the time I saw you first, and indeed before I saw you, I could not but feel a strong affection for you. And I pray that nothing may abate our affection for each other till we meet in a better world.

When I heard of your marriage it gave me pain. I was afraid lest you should have suffered loss.¹ Do you feel as much union with God as ever? As close fellowship with the Father and the Son? And is it as constant as ever? Are you as happy as you was once? And do you ever think of, my dear Jenny,

Your affectionate brother?

To Benjamin Rhodes

NEAR LONDON, January 7, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You have done exactly right. Observe the rules of the Conference, both in changing the stewards or in any other point, whoever is pleased or displeased.² And do not fail mildly to expostulate the case, either with George³ or any other Assistant who does not observe them. The trustees and leaders will soon trample them under-foot if you will let them. But I think you can be mild, and yet firm.—I am, with love to Sister Rhodes,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

¹ See letter of Oct. 12.

April 26, 1789.

² See letters of Nov. 6, 1788, and

³ George Shadford at St. Ives.

To Ann Bolton

LONDON, January 9, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—‘Sir, you are troubled,’ said Mr. Law to me, ‘because you do not understand how God is dealing with you. Perhaps if you did, it would not so well answer His design. He is teaching you to trust Him further than you can see Him.’ He is now teaching you the same lesson. Hitherto you cannot understand His ways. But they are all mercy and truth. And though you do not know now what He does you shall know hereafter.

I am acquainted with several persons whom I believed to be saved from sin. But there is great variety in the manner wherein God is pleased to lead them. Some of them are called to act much for God, some to rejoice much, some to suffer much. All of these shall receive their crown. But when the Son of Man shall come in His glory, the brightest crown will be given to the sufferers. Look up, thou blessed one! the time is at hand!—I am
Ever yours.

To Duncan McAllum

LONDON, January 20, 1789.

DEAR DUNCAN,—By all means choose trustees without delay; and let them be such as belong to the circuit, only such as you can depend upon both for judgement and honesty. I think it is by prayer that you must alter the purpose of the Earl of Findlater.¹ I am not at all surprised at the behaviour of John Atlay. In a year or two he will find whether he has changed for the better. He was the first occasion of the division at Dewsbury by sending word to the trustees that, if the Conference would not supply them with preachers, he would come himself and settle among them.² I am, with love to Sister McAllum, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To the Rev. Mr. McAllum, Inverness,

To James Currie

When John Pritchard was appointed to Northampton in 1778, he ‘was much distressed to see the Antinomian ministers and doctrines

¹ For the late Earl’s care for his estates around Banff, see *Journal*, vi. 10.

² See letter of Aug. 23, 1788.

carry the multitude after them.' See *Wesley's Veterans*, vi. 214; and letter of February 19, 1788, to Currie.

LONDON, January 24, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You have great cause to praise God for pouring out His Spirit on poor Northampton and turning your heaviness into joy. You should try with all diligence to work together with God and improve this day of His power: first, by laying hold on all the backsliders you can, and labouring if possible to bring them back to the fold; and, secondly, by earnestly exhorting the brethren to go on to perfection. This should be done both in public and private.—I am

Yours affectionately.

To Mr. James Currie,
In Northampton,

To Mrs. Tighe

Robert Armstrong was stationed in Liverpool in 1787 and desisted from travelling in 1788. He does not appear in the *Minutes* for 1789.

NEAR LONDON, January 22, 1789.

MY DEAR MADAM,—A few years since, Mr. Armstrong from the North of Ireland was stationed in the Liverpool circuit. He said business called him to Ireland. He left his circuit, Havant, Chester, without consulting his Assistant. In consequence of this he was excluded the Connexion. In these things we are obliged to be very exact. The Assistant told Chester Band that the circuit could not spare him, and that his quitting it at a time when there was none to supply his place would be attended with bad consequences. He was therefore not a little to blame. However, thus far I can favour him (especially as *you* desire it) that I will not exclude him, but only remove him into the next circuit. Wishing you many happy years.—I am, my dear Madam,

Your affectionate servant.

To Mrs. Tighe, at Woodstock,
Innistoyne, near Kilkenny.

To Freeborn Garrettson

Garrettson had left Nova Scotia in May 1788, and was now working north of the Hudson. The *Journal* was sent, but the ship was lost,

and it never reached Wesley. See Bangs's *Life*, p. 176 ; and letters of July 16, 1787, and July 15, 1789, to him.

LONDON, January 24, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It signifies but little where we are, so we are but fully employed for our good Master. Whether you went, therefore, to the east, it is all one, so you were labouring to promote His work. You are following the order of His providence wherever it appeared, as an holy man strongly expressed it, in a kind of holy disordered order. But there is one expression that occurs twice or thrice in yours which gives me some concern : you speak of finding ' freedom ' to do this or that. This is a word much liable to be abused. If I have plain Scripture or plain reason for doing a thing well. These are my rules, and my only rules. I regard not whether I had freedom or no. This is an unscriptural expression and a very fallacious rule. I wish to be in every point, great and small, a scriptural, rational Christian.

In one instance formerly you promised to send me your *Journal*. Will you break your word because you do not find freedom to keep it ? Is not this enthusiasm ? O be not of this way of thinking ! You know not whither it may lead you. You are called to

Square your useful life below
By reason and by grace.

But whatever you do with regard to me you must do quickly, or you will no more in this world.

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Walter Churchey

Medals to commemorate the Regency were being sold in the streets at the beginning of February, and on the 13th the Regency Bill passed the House of Commons. George III's recovery rendered it unnecessary. Fox would have succeeded Pitt as Prime Minister. See Lecky's *England*, v. 441-3.

LONDON, January 27, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—On Monday, March 2, I hope to be in Bath or Bristol ; then we may talk about the number of copies. I have been much more concerned than you for these sixty years in printing books both with and without subscrip-

tion. And I still think, with all our skill and industry, we shall be hard set to procure three hundred subscribers. Perhaps three hundred may *promise* ! But we must never imagine that *all* who promise will perform. But of this we may talk more when we meet at Bristol.¹

I suppose every one that loves King George loves Mr. Pitt.
Peace be with all your spirits !—I am

Your affectionate brother.

I will inquire after the vintage.

To Mr. Churchey, Near the Hay,
Brecon.

To Robert Dall

Dall went to Dumfries in 1787. The preaching-house there is named in the *Minutes* of 1788 as 'to be built this year,' and Myles states that it was built in 1788. Wesley saw it on his visit in May of that year, and describes the old preaching-house which it superseded as without windows. See letters of February 11, 1788, and June 29, 1789.

LONDON, January 28, 1789.

DEAR ROBERT,—I am thoroughly satisfied with your economy in the building of the house. It is exceeding cheap. But the grand difficulty is how to raise the money, or, at least, how to raise it as soon as it will be wanted. This is no time of year for making collections. It should be matter of much prayer. I see no way but, Who will lend ? I will be security for forty pounds more. Look up !—I am, dear Robert,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Thomas Rutherford

Wesley reached Dublin on March 29, but did not pass through Stockport. See letter of March 31.

LONDON, January 31, 1789.

DEAR TOMMY,—I think you have done exactly right with regard to Thomas Smith. It seems the less you say about him the better. You have only to go straight forward. The leaders, I doubt not, will take your advice and set an example to others.

¹ The list of subscribers printed in Churchey's *Poems on Various Occasions* accounts for 195 copies. See letters of Dec. 6, 1788, and March 3, 1789, to him.

If it pleases God to continue my life and health, I purpose to set out for Ireland at the usual time and to call upon you at Stockport about the latter end of March.

Peace be with all your spirits!—I am, dear Tommy,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Whereat

Nehemiah Curnock's mother was a Miss Whereat, of Bristol. Her father's brother married Patience Ellison. See letter of September 7, 1777; *W.H.S.* vii. 153-5.

LONDON, February 4, 1789.

MY DEAR PATTY,—We seem to be now just where we were some years ago. You had a strange dream; but it is past, and you are now awake. He that was the chief means of lulling you asleep is now likewise broad awake. Well, let us now redeem the time. The night is far spent! The day of eternity is at hand! I am now preparing to take leave of London, perhaps to see it no more. But perhaps my bones may rest here in a vault which is prepared for me and a few more preachers.—I am, my dear Patty,

Your very affectionate Uncle.

To Mrs. Pat. Whereat, At the New Room,
In Bristol.
Send it to her.

To Abraham Case

LONDON, February [7], 1789.

DEAR ABRAHAM,—I make no doubt but He that loved you enabled you to say yea from the ground of thy heart. 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.' Especially as the Lord made her ready before He took her to Himself. But although it has pleased God to remove her, you cannot quit the task which He has assigned you. You are still to watch over both the children and the infant Society, and in due time God will provide you with another helper.—I am Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Tighe

Wesley sat for the portrait on January 5, and says, in *Journal*, vii. 461: 'Mr. Romney is a painter indeed. He struck off an exact likeness at once, and did more in one hour than Sir Joshua did in ten.'

The engraver was John Spilsbury. The original is in the McFadden collection at Philadelphia. A replica of it by Mr. W. D. Hamilton is in Wesley's Rooms at Lincoln College, Oxford. Mrs. Tighe was a Miss Fownes married to William Tighe, M.P., of Rosanna.

LONDON, February 7, 1789.

DEAR MADAM,—It would not easily be that I should refuse anything which *you* desired. Therefore I have sat four¹ times to Mr. Romney, and he has finished the picture. It is thought to be a good likeness, and many of my friends have desired an engraving taken from it. But I answer, 'The picture was not mine but *yours*. Therefore I can do [no] thing without your consent.' But if you have no objection, then I will employ an engraver that I am well assured will do it justice. Wishing every blessing to you and all your family, I remain, dear madam, Your affectionate servant.

To Mrs. Rogers

February 9, 1789.

MY DEAR HETTY,—I am glad to hear that you do not grow weary or faint in your mind, that you are rather increasing in the way of holiness. Go on in the name of the Lord and in the power of His might, doing the will of God from the heart.

It was a providence indeed that the flood did not begin in the night rather than in the day. So it is that judgement is usually mixed with mercy, that sinners may be awakened and not destroyed. I liked well to lodge at Brother Laffan's¹ when I was in Cork last ; but certainly I shall like much better to lodge with Brother Rogers and you. I shall be more at home with you than I could be anywhere else in Cork. I still find (blessed be God) a gradual increase of strength, and my sight is rather better than worse. If my life and health be continued, I shall endeavour to reach Dublin about the end of March and Cork before the end of June. Peace be with your spirits !—I am, my dear Hetty,

Yours most affectionately.

¹ *Journal*, vii, 459-64.

² See Feb. 9, 1783.

To Joseph Taylor

LONDON, February 11, 1789.

DEAR JOSEPH,—I am glad to hear that the little stumbling-blocks in your circuit are so happily removed.¹ Undoubtedly after I am gone several of our preachers will leave the Church ; perhaps all that have not a single eye—that desire honour, or money, or anything upon earth. But I hope I shall not live to see this. While I am here let us go on in the old way.

There is no danger of my seeing Nottingham this year. On the 2nd of March I hope to be in Bath, on the 4th at Bristol, on the 17th at Gloucester, the 21st at Birmingham, and then in Dublin as soon as I can.—I am, dear Joseph,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Thomas Roberts

LONDON, February 12, 1789.

DEAR TOMMY,—You send me good news indeed. I congratulate you upon your deliverance.² It is not a little one. Only He that is almighty was able to burst those bonds in sunder. Many years ago I was in exactly the same case ; and just then, when I came to these words in the Lesson for the day, ' Son of man, behold I take from thee the desire of thine eyes with a stroke,'³ I was quite stunned, and could not just then read a word more. But afterwards I saw God was wiser than me.

It seems to me that you drew the right conclusion from this remarkable providence. Surely God does now give you a loud call to devote yourself to God in a single life. I advise you to read with much prayer the *Notes* on 1 Corinthians 7th. And remember the wise direction of Kempis,⁴ ' Avoid all good women, and commend them to God.'—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. T. Roberts, At the New Room,
In Cork.

¹ See letter of Nov. 16, 1788.

² See letter of Feb. 14, 1786.

³ See letter of Jan. 18, 1788, to him.

⁴ Book I. chap. viii.

To Joseph Taylor

LONDON, February 13, 1789.

DEAR JOSEPH,—I have a business of some importance for you to transact. Pray go to my old friend Matthew Bagshaw, and in my name desire of him, (1) to tell you how far John Wilson has wronged him : (2) to introduce you to Mr. Henshaw, of whom you are to inquire (and write me word directly) what he heard between John Wilson and him : desire him also (3) to let you know whether he has wronged any one beside in Nottingham : if he has, in what manner ?

If you can come clearly to the bottom of his affair, it is possible I may be of some real service to him. But till then it is not possible. For God will surely fight against him while he continues to cover his sin.—I am, dear Joseph,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Walter Churchey

[LONDON, February 18, 1789.]

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am fully convinced we cannot possibly dispose of more than five hundred copies. My printer has carefully computed what the printing of these on a fine paper will cost, and finds it will come rather under a hundred and fifty pounds.¹ So the sooner you begin the better. I am

Your affectionate brother.

I am so set hence for Bristol on Monday, March 2.

To Ann Bolton

NEAR LONDON, February 20, 1789.

MY DEAR NANCY,—We have conversed together a fair number of years ; and I never was tired of you yet. From the time of its birth to this day my love to you never grew cold ; though I have often observed yours to vary, being sometimes warmer and sometimes colder. But it can never be quite cold in this region of sorrow and care.

It has seemed good to our Lord for many years to lead you in a rough and thorny way. But still His hand has held you up, and His care. Therefore you have no need to take [thought] for to-morrow, but trust in Him to-day.

¹ See letter of March 3, 1789.

But how does poor Neddy Bolton go on? Does he go forward or backward? Has he an hard bargain still? Or is he likely to keep his head above water? ¹ He has need of patience as well as you; and when you have been tried you shall both come forth as gold.

The young woman who has foretold that I should follow my brother before the end of March added that I should be incapable of preaching for two months before my death. But if so, how shall we reconcile one part of the prophecy with the other? For at present I am as capable of preaching as ever I was in my life. But be that as it may, while we live let us live to Him that died for us.—I am, my dear Nancy,

Affectionately yours.

On Wednesday, March 4, I expect to be at Bristol; and on Monday, March 17, at Stroud.

To Sarah Mallet

Elizabeth Reeve, of Redgrove, Suffolk, was one of Sarah Mallet's converts. She kept her brother's house, where Miss Mallet preached. She began to speak, and Wesley asked Miss Mallet, who told him about her, to bring her to meet him at Diss. He talked with her, and encouraged her in her work. She afterwards married, and died of consumption. See Taft's *Holy Women*, pp. 91-2; and letter of July 31, 1790.

Had Miss Mallet been at Dr. Hunt's of Norwich and felt moved to speak there? See letters of December 26, 1788, and August 3, 1789, to her; and for Hunt, that of February 25, 1785, to Jonathan Coussins.

LONDON, February 21, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—As your speaking at Mr. Hunt's was not a premeditated thing, I see no harm in it, and indeed you was so hedged in by a concurrence of circumstances that I do not know how you could well avoid it. Perhaps there was some end of Divine Providence (not known to us) to be answered thereby. Therefore I am not at all sorry that it so fell out. But you must expect to be censured for it.

But I was a little surprised a while ago when one speaking of you said, 'Sally Mallet is not so serious as Betty Reeve.'

See letter of Jan. 5, 1783.

I thought Sally Mallet was as serious as any young woman in Norfolk. Be wary in all your actions, and you will never [want] any assistance which is in the power of, my dear Sally,
Yours affectionately.

To John Stretton

This letter is given in the *Watchman* for 1850, p. 311; where it is dated 1769. The right date is 1789, when Wesley had more than two hundred preachers. Stretton says: 'In October 1785 a preacher arrived here from London sent by Mr. Wesley. His name is John McGeary, a good man and a good preacher: I hope he will prove a blessing to this place.' He was an Irishman who had worked for two years with Asbury in America and came to England at the end of the war. Wesley had a long conversation with him on September 30, 1784, and sent him to Newfoundland the next year. He did not get on well with the lay workers, and Wesley tells Black in February 1787, that 'McGeary appears to be utterly discouraged.' He made an unfortunate marriage, and returned to England at the close of 1788. See *Journal*, vii. 23; Findlay and Holdsworth's *History of Wesleyan Methodist Missions*, i. 394; Wilson's *Newfoundland and its Missionaries*, p. 160; letter of March 19, 1788, to William Black; and for Hoskins, who was converted in Bristol in 1746, August 10, 1780.

LONDON, February 27, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Thirty years ago we had thirty or forty preachers, the greater part of whom were truly devoted to God; but one or two of them departed from us, loving the present world. At present we have in Great Britain and Ireland about two hundred travelling preachers, and probably there are three or four of these whose hearts are not right with God; but we do not know it; we have no proof of this, or we should put them away.

I do not know that Henry Brians has any gifts for preaching or any desire of it. Samuel Woods I do not remember at all. But in a few days I shall probably set out for Ireland.

What becomes of James Wray¹? Is he dead or alive? I know not that I have had a letter from him for above this twelve months.

What concerns me is that I cannot find any union between you northern preachers. John Hoskins, John McGeary, and

¹ See letter of June 30, 1788, to John Mann.

John Stretton I should imagine would have all acted in concert; on the contrary, each seems to be afraid of the other. How is this? What is the true ground of this shyness? What objections have you to John Hoskins or John McGeary? What objections have they to you? 'Tis a pity but you had all spoken freely to
Your affectionate brother.

To George Holder

LONDON, February 28, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You say, 'The last quarter, when we compared our plans with the *Minutes* of Conference, we wanted a considerable number of people whom Mr. Crook had given in to you.' I cannot understand this. Cannot Mr. Crook cast up a plain account? And surely neither he, nor you, nor any preacher would wilfully give in a false account.¹

There is something very remarkable in the relation which you give of the life and death of Mr. Charles Laco. 'Right precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints.' And every Assistant should take all possible care to procure the best account of them that can be had. These accounts are frequently means of awakening men of the world as well as of encouraging the children of God. In every place the subscribers to the Magazines will fall off unless great care be taken. You have need of great diligence as well in this as in all other parts of your office.—I am, dear George,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Tegart

LONDON, February 28, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Henry Moore and I, after reading and considering both your letter and one from Richard Condry, are clearly of opinion that he cannot and ought not to leave Waterford till another Assistant comes to take his place.² We do not conceive him to be in any fault in this matter. We think he did no more than it was his duty to do.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

¹ Holder had followed John Crook as Assistant in the Isle of Man. See letter of June 24.

² Tegart was a merchant in Waterford. See letter of Aug. 2, 1788, to Mrs. Ward.

To James Creighton

John Black, the Assistant at Enniskillen, had evidently written to Wesley. During his first round he was seized by a mob 'consisting of some of those who ought to have been the most respectable Protestant inhabitants of the district.' They tied a rope round the preacher and dragged him several times through the nearest river. They cut off the ears of his horse, and threatened to cut off Black's. Crookshank says: 'It is worthy of note that in a comparatively short time every trace of these guilty parties and their descendants passed into oblivion.' Wesley had preached there unmolested in 1787, Creighton had preached there in 1781, and knew the conditions in what was described as 'a den of lions.' Lord Enniskillen and his family had seen the great moral transformation in the district, and had been impressed by the conversion of Daniel Bradshaw, whom he had tried to draw away from the Methodists by inviting him to an entertainment at his house. Lord Enniskillen became friendly to the Methodists, as he saw how 'the once Sabbath-breaking country became a land of prayer and praise.' See *Journal*, vii. 283; Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, i. 334, 447.

BRISTOL, March 3, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I think you may advise Brother Black either (1) When they persecute you in one city, flee to another; we have often done with good success. Or (2) You may write to Lord Inniskillen, a word from whom would terrify the rioters. Or (3) Let Mr. Moore write to one of our lawyers in Dublin, and inquire which is the best method,—To move the King's Bench for an information, or to arrest three or four of the chief rioters, with an action of assault and battery. My judgement, if the King's Bench is moved, it should be against one or more of the Justices.—I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Walter Churchey

Churchey was about to publish his large volume of poems, which Wesley permitted him to print at his own press. How much he did for his friend the following proposals will show:—

PROPOSALS

For printing by Subscription *Poems on Various Occasions*,
By Walter Churchey, Gent.

CONDITIONS

1. The work will be comprised in one large Quarto volume.
2. It will be printed on a fine paper and with a good type.

3. The price is One Guinea.
4. The copy is finished and will be put into the press with all possible speed.

4 [5]. The book will be delivered about the 1st of July next.

100.

Mr. Churchey is an honest attorney ! Therefore he is poor, and has eight children. Give me a guinea for him, for his own sake, for God's sake, and for the sake of

JOHN WESLEY.

BRISTOL, *March 3, 1789.*

BRISTOL, *March 3, 1789.*

I have now revised the five volumes of my brother's Hymns on the Four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. He had himself revised them no less than seven times in the space of twenty years. Many of them are little or nothing inferior to the best of them that have been printed. Those of them that savour a little of Mysticism I have rather corrected or expunged; but I have no thought or design at all of printing them. I have other work to do which is of more immediate importance. Besides that, I have not two or three hundred pounds to spare. I will order my printer to strike off some of your proposals, which I will then occasionally recommend to my friends. Some of them I know will subscribe; and it may be God will incline the hearts of more than I am aware of. But with whom do you agree for paper and printing? Proceed warily, or you may get into much trouble. That God may bless you and yours, and be your Guide in this and in all things, is the prayer of

Your affectionate brother.

To Susanna Knapp

[BATH, *March 3, 1789.*]

MY DEAR SUKY,—I am glad to find you still desiring and seeking the best portion. To-morrow fortnight I hope to see you at Worcester. It gives me pleasure to hear that Mrs. Knapp's health is in some measure restored. We are sure health we shall have if health is the best for us.

Yours affectionately.

To Miss Knapp, At Mr. Knapp's,
In Worcester.

To John Taylor

Wesley states in his *Journal* (vi. 444) that the preachers advised him to begin his effort to persuade the trustees at Birstall to settle it on the Methodist plan, by preaching there. This he did on September

4, 1783, at 6 p.m., having dined with Mr. John Taylor at 1. The deed was altered as Wesley wished (see Tyerman's *Wesley*, iii. 383). A more serious trouble arose at Dewsbury, and on July 25, 1789, Wesley says, 'I lodged in Joseph Taylor's house at Gomersal, who labours for peace, and would fain reconcile Christ and Belial.' The Dewsbury house was lost to Methodism, and Wesley's book steward, John Atlay, became its pastor.

BRISTOL, March 4, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I think here we must close our friendly contest, for neither can convince the other.

Yet still I must maintain, I plead simply for this. 1. Let the Conference have the right of stationing the preachers, the same that I have now; and which is secured to me by the deed in question.

2. This deed gives me no property in any houses, nay, by this deed I lose the property of those houses which were mine before.

3. Pray consider this. *These houses were my property* till that deed took place. Since then I am not proprietor of any house in England. And can that deed convey a property to the Conference, which divested me of it?—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. John Taylor,
At Gomersal, near Leeds.

To Rachel Jones

BRISTOL, March 4, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—As you desired it, I cannot but send you a line, although I have not a moment to spare. You have exceeding reason to praise God, who has dealt so mercifully with you. You have reason to praise Him likewise for hearing your prayer and hearing for those of your household. Now be a pattern for all that are around about you. Be a pattern of meekness and lowliness in particular. Be the least of all and the servant of all. Be a companion of them, and them only, that worship in spirit and in truth. Read again and again the 13th chapter of St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. Then shall your light shine more and more unto the perfect day.—I am, dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

To Miss Rachel Jones, Of Barton-le-Willows,
Near York.

To Adam Clarke

Clarke wrote on January 13: 'My wife and her sister send their love to you, and so, I am persuaded, our little John Wesley would, were he capable.' He asks for some intimation as to his next appointment, as news took some time and weather might prevent their crossing over for some weeks. Wesley asked him to come to the Conference in Leeds, and told him that he ought to go to Dublin. He was, however, appointed to Bristol,

BRISTOL, March 9, 1789.

DEAR ADAM,—If I should live to see you another Conference, I should be glad to have Sister Clarke and you here rather than at most other places, because I spend more time here myself than at any other place except London. I am glad to hear that God has raised up so able a preacher from the islands¹; but certainly you should spare no pains in teaching him to read and write English by reading with and explaining to him first the *Christian [Library]* and then the *Instructions to Children*. And I do not doubt but if he learned with a single eye, he would be largely strengthened by the blessed Spirit.

I suppose the cyder would come to London almost as soon as I left it, which was on the first Sunday of the year.

It would be a reason for being very wary in choosing names for our children if that old remark were true:

That our first tempers from example flow
And borrow that example from our names.

Peace be with you and yours!—I am, dear Adam,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Richard Rodda

BRISTOL, March 11, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I hope to be with you on Good Friday between one and two o'clock. Then you dispose of me as you see best till Easter Monday in the afternoon; but that day I am to dine with Sir Philip Gibbes at Hilton Park.

The Assistant has need in most places to have a strict eye

¹ On July 15 Adam Clarke says: mountains shrink into molehills, John De Queteville, 'who has now all the meekness, gentleness and simplicity of the gospel, united with that burning zeal before which and aided by that faith to which all things are possible.' See Dunn's *Life*, p. 70.

to the leaders ; but they are *nothing* in the Methodist constitution, but single men who are employed by the Assistant as long and as far as he pleases. The account of good Sarah Ward is remarkable.—I am, dear Richard,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Rodda, In Moore Street,
Birmingham.

To Mrs. Bowman

BRISTOL, March 14, 1789.

I have neither time nor inclination to enter into a long dispute on this or any other question.¹ All I can do is, first to declare my own judgement, and then set down my reasons for it ; and if your son is not satisfied therewith, I do not know any way to help it.

The judgement is that there is no more harm in keeping an hot-house than a flower garden ; and I judge there is no more sin in keeping a flower garden than in smelling a rose.

My reason for judging both of these innocent is because neither of them is forbidden in Scripture, and it is sinful to condemn anything which Scripture does not condemn.

I think, therefore, to condemn all who keep hot-houses and flower gardens is a sin both against God and their neighbours ; and one of them might say, ' Why am I judged of another man's conscience ? To my own Master I stand or fall.'
I am
Your affectionate brother.

To Certain Persons in Dublin

Wesley reached Dublin on the Sunday, and went straight up to the New Room, where he preached on the sickness and recovery of King Hezekiah and King George. Services were allowed at the Room in church hours, save on the first Sunday of the month, when the members took the sacrament at St. Patrick's. See *Journal*, vii. 481-2 ; and letters of May 6, 1788, and June 2, 1789.

WHITEFRIAR STREET, DUBLIN, March 31, 1789.

MY DEAR BRETHREN,—I much approve of the manner and spirit wherein you write concerning these tender points. I

¹ See letter of March 4, 1786.

explained myself upon them in some measure on Sunday; I will do it more fully now.

At present I have nothing to do with Dr. Coke; but I answer for myself. I do not separate from the Church, nor have any intention so to do. Neither do they that meet on Sunday noon separate from the Church any more than they did before; nay less, for they attend the church and sacrament oftener now than they did two years ago.

'But this occasions much strife.' True; but they make the strife who do not attend the service. Let them quietly either come or stay away, and there will be no strife at all.

'But those that attend say those that do not are fallen from grace.' No, they do not give them a bad word; but they surely *will fall from grace* if they do not let them alone that follow their own consciences.

But you 'fear this will make way for a total separation from the Church.' You have no ground for this fear. There can be no such separation while I live. Leave to God what may come after.

But, to speak plainly, do not *you* separate from the Church? Yea, much more than those you blame? Pray, how often have you been at church since Christmas? twelve times in twelve weeks? And how long have you been so *fond of the Church*? Are you fond of it at all? Do not you go oftener to a Dissenting meeting than either to St. Patrick's or your parish church? My dear brethren, you and I have but a short time to stay together.

— My race of glory's run, and race of shame;
And I shall shortly be with those that rest.¹

Therefore, as one that loves you well and has loved you long, I advise you in the presence and in the fear of God, (1) Either quietly attend the Sunday service or quietly refrain from it; then there will be no strife at all. Now *you make* the noise of which you complain. (2) Make not this a pretence for being weary of well-doing. Do not for so poor a reason withdraw your subscription from the School or the preachers.

¹ Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, ll. 597-8.

What a miserable revenge would this be ! Never let it be said that my friend Arthur Keene, that Mr. D'Olier or Boswell, was capable of this ! From this hour let this idle strife be buried in eternal oblivion. Talk not of it any more. If it be possible, think not of it any more. Rather think, 'The Judge standeth at the door' ; let us prepare to meet our God !

To Harriet Lewis

DUBLIN, April 2, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Considering how changeable human nature is, I should have thought you would have forgotten me before now. I was therefore agreeably surprised when I had the pleasure of seeing you at Dudley.¹ You seemed to be just the same as you was the first time that I conversed with you at Mr. Moon's house,² to be as desirous now as you was then to be not almost but altogether a Christian. But if this be your determination, you must remember you cannot be warm alone ; you must needs find one if not more with whom you can converse freely on the things of God. This you may properly make matter of prayer ; and sooner or later your prayer will be heard, although some of those with whom you once conversed are grown cold. But God is able to provide you with others who will not be unstable as water. It is a great blessing that He has upheld your goings in the way and enabled you still to press on to the mark. May He stablish, strengthen, and settle you ! So prays Yours affectionately.

To Thomas Wride

DUBLIN, April 2, 1789.

DEAR TOMMY,—I am surprised that a man who really fears God should engage himself in so bad a cause ; but undoubtedly you have the better of the argument. Yet I see no prospect of convincing a man of his rank. Therefore I think it is the wisest way to let the matter drop.³ The publishing of a thing of this

¹ See letter of March 29, 1788.² John Moon, the third preacher in the Birmingham Circuit ; he died in 1807.³ Wride was again Assistant at Whitehaven. Can this refer to any dispute with the Lowthers ?

kind was only tried to stir up a nest of hornets.—I am, dear Tommy,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Cock

DUBLIN, April 7, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I cannot but say that it was some concern to me when I first heard that you was married; because I was afraid that you would be less useful than you might have been in a single life. And, indeed, I hoped that if you married at all, it would be one of our preachers; then I could have stationed him in some circuit where I should have had frequent opportunities of conversing with you. I am glad, however, that you are still happy in God. If you had married an ungodly man, it would certainly have been a sin. But it was no sin to marry a child of God—yea, though he were but a babe in Christ. And surely, if you pray mightily for him, the Lord will hear your prayer, and supply whatever is yet wanting in his faith, till he is happy and holy and perfect in love. I hope there is no shyness between you and Mr. or Mrs. Clarke. And do you converse freely with the other preachers? Do you meet in band? I hope you are still acquainted with Miss Lempriere and (I think the name of her friend is) Mrs. Saumarez.¹ I want you and them continually to grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. O let us improve this span of life to the uttermost!

Yours in tender affection.

To Pearl Dickinson

Wesley ordained Hanby for Scotland in August 1785. He was now at Grantham. He wrote to James Oddie on May 21, 1789: 'Since I wrote last I have been in deep waters on account of my administering the Lord's supper, which I think it my duty to do, and especially to those who for conscience cannot go to the Church. Mr. Wesley has written and ordered me to lay it aside. I wrote and told him if I did I should sin because I was persuaded it was my duty, and therefore I could not oblige him. Then he ordered the clergy and preachers in London to undertake me. I have received their letters, and wrote for answer I

¹ Adam Clarke wrote on Jan. 13: Lempriere is very upright but very 'Jane Cock is still well and happy. diffident.' See letter of Aug. 3 to Mrs. Saumarez gains ground. Miss Mrs. Cock.

must do as I have done, and provided Mr. Wesley had given me up into their hands, they must act according to their judgement, for what I did was from a Divine conviction, etc., etc. I have for some time expected another preacher to take my place. But as he did not come, perhaps they will refer the matter till the Conference.' Hanby says his superintendent, Joseph Taylor, 'opposes me all he can,' and had been ordered by Wesley to remove the leaders who had been the promoters of the Sacrament. He adds: 'Our solemnities are much owned of God, and I have much employment in the sacred service.' This letter will show what difficulty Wesley had in holding his ground as to the Church of England. Hanby was chosen President of the Conference at Bristol in 1794. See *W.H.S.* iv. 171-2.

DUBLIN, April 11, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—As soon as ever Sister Dickinson is able to go abroad let her enter upon her labour of love. In things of this kind particularly delays are dangerous. Every good purpose will cool and die away if it is not as soon as possible put in execution. Only let us not undertake too much at a time. Generally one visit will be enough for one day, and that should not last above half an hour, or an hour at farthest.

I wrote a few days since to Mr. Hanby concerning his baptizing and administering the Lord's supper wherever he goes. He answers me, 'He intends to do still, for he believes it to be his duty.' I wish Brother Creighton and Moore and Rankin and you would spend an hour together, as it is a point of the utmost importance, and consider what steps are to be taken in this matter. Can this be connived at? If so, I fear it is a blow at the very root of Methodism. And if not, you see the consequence: he will join John Atlay. Consider likewise another point: ought we to suffer Dr. Coke to pick out one after another the choicest of our young preachers? ¹ Peace be with your spirits!—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Lancelot Harrison

Mrs. Fisher had come to live in Lincoln about the end of 1787, and preaching was begun there again in an old lumber-room near Gowt's Bridge. The room was usually full. The chapel was opened in the spring of 1790. See letter of April 30, 1786.

¹ Evidently for his missionary work.

DUBLIN, April 11, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—A letter which I received two or three days ago from George Whitfield¹ informs me that I outran my income so far last year as to be now above two hundred pounds in debt. I have therefore promised him not to draw upon him any more before the end of next month.

But do you not remember the rule in the *Minutes* of Conference that we are not to begin the building of any preaching-house before two-thirds of the money is subscribed? This rule we may not dispense with. And I am afraid this is not the case with regard to the house you are speaking of at Lincoln. I doubt, therefore, whether the time be come for your building there. But you have cause to rejoice that the work of God prospers there, as well as at poor Blighton.—I am, etc.

To Alexander Knox

In quoting this letter to Miss Hannah More (October 10, 1824) Knox says: 'My poor sister at that time made no pretensions whatever to religious strictness; but he had known her from a child, and had taken a particular liking to her lively manner and very pleasing appearance. . . . She survived Mr. Wesley about ten years, but showed nothing correspondent to his wish until within a month or two of her death. Then, without any apparent cause, except the grace of God concurring with her rapid decline, all her dispositions were so altered as to make the last weeks of her life a continued exercise of joyful hope and pious resignation.' See Foster's *Remains of Alexander Knox*, iii. 478-9.

DUBLIN, April 11, 1789.

MY DEAR ALLECK,—You see in the public papers that I shall be with you if God permits on the 30th of the next month. If I should be called to go a longer journey before that time, I hope you would be able to say, 'Good is the will of the Lord.' Every time we meet it is less and less probable that we should meet again in this world. But it is enough if we are counted worthy of that world and the resurrection of the dead. O let my dear Sally Knox² think of this, for we know not how soon she may be called. Certainly I love her dearly; and shall be glad to meet her at our Lord's right hand. Peace be with all your spirits!—I am, my dear Alleck,

Yours most affectionately.

¹ His Book Steward.

² His sister.

To Peter Mill, Joseph Thompson, and John Stamp

This letter to the three preachers in the Newcastle Circuit brought matters to a crisis. The trustees refused to convey the place on the Conference Deed. Atlay advised them to take this action, and his colleague William Eels became their pastor. See letters of December 1788 and April 29, 1789, to Edward Coates, and *W.H.S.* iv. 229.

DUBLIN, April 11, 1789.

I require you three, Peter Mill, Joseph Thompson, and John Stamp, without consulting or regarding any person whatever, to require a positive answer of Edward Coates within three weeks after the receipt of this, 'Will you or will you not settle the house at Millbourn Place, North Shields, on the Methodist plan?' If he will not do it within another week, I farther require that none of you preach in that house unless you will renounce all connexion with Your affectionate brother.

I am at a point. I will be trifled with no longer.

To Henry Moore

NEAR LONGFORD, April 17, 1789.

DEAR HENRY,—I answer all your letters immediately; but you do not consider the sea is now between us. I told you before, 'Send John Jenkins without delay.' So I suppose he is gone. I left Dr. Coke's Journal in Dublin with his daughter, to be published immediately. And undoubtedly you have printed enough of them in London to supply all the English Societies.

The work of God goes on well in most parts of Ireland, particularly in the North. They increase in Dublin as much in numbers as they do in grace. Many are much alive to God.—I am, with kind love to Nancy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Zachariah Yewdall

ATHLONE, April 18, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad to hear that there is so fine a prospect at Dalkeith. So is generally the way of our Lord, to try us first, and then to comfort. It is pity but James Ridall¹ had thoroughly settled his affairs before he attempted to

¹ See letter of Dec. 17, 1787.

travel. If that had been done, there is no doubt but he would have been useful wheresoever he went. I wish, however, Brother Dall may make a good conclusion with regard to the chapel at Dumfries.¹ Peace be with you and yours!—I am, dear Zachary,
Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Armstrong

Some of the leaders had 'needlessly taken offence at the Assistant,' John Dinnen, and the Society was in an uproar. Dinnen had called on Mr. R[utledge] and warned him against imbibing the same prejudice. He misunderstood and was very angry. Wesley talked to him till he was tired, but might as well have talked to the north wind. See Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, i. 454; and letters of July 19, 1787, and May 14, 1789.

TULLAMORE, April 22, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You told me 'I forgot you once in not answering your letter'; but if I did, I shall not be in much danger of forgetting you again. I love you too well to forget you, and the more because I find you still looking upward and endeavouring to secure a better portion than this short-enduring world can give. I am glad you are in Athlone at this season, because peacemakers are wanted there, and I know you love making peace. I hope you will comfort your sister Rutledge. She has been sadly distressed; and a word spoken in season, how good it is! I think you will lose no opportunity of doing good to her or to any one. That you and yours may be a pattern to all is the sincere wish of, my dear sister,

Yours affectionately.

To Mrs. James Armstrong, Athlone.

To Arthur Keene

Endorsed 'Rev'd. Jno. Wesley, Portarlington. Answer to our Remonstrance, No. 4.'

PORTARLINGTON, April 23, 1789.

MY DEAR ARTHUR,—I will not, I dare not draw the saw of controversy any longer; especially with James Deaves,² who will dispute through a stone wall.

In the name of God, have done! You can do no good by

¹ See letter of Jan. 28.

² See letters of Aug. 2, 1788 (to Mrs. Ward), and May 20,

disputing. But you do much harm. You hurt your own spirit. You hurt others. You blow up a flame. You damp and hinder the work of God. By talebearing you separate chief friends. You prejudice my intimate friends against *me*. I have not deserved it of you. Let me alone. I act according to the best of my judgement. In speaking once you did well. But it is not well to worry me thus. I wish James Deaves would mind his own affairs. If he has a mind to renounce me, let him do it quietly. If you personally have anything to say to me, well ! But I have no more to say to him—that is, James Deaves behind the curtain. None but he could tear you from
Your old, affectionate brother.

To Samuel Bardsley

CARLOW, April 26, 1789.

DEAR SAMMY,—I am glad to hear that the work of the Lord still prospers in your hands. But there needs great steadiness, or you will not be able to keep the good old Methodist discipline. Brother Rhodes is desirous to do this ; and it will be right for you to strengthen his hands therein.¹ Let the preachers stand firm together, and then the people will be regular ; but if any of you take their part against the preacher, all will be confusion. Since you desire it, you may come to the Conference.—I am, dear Sammy,
Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Sam. Bardsley, At Mr. James Walker's,
In Sheffield.

To Edward Coates

WATERFORD, April 29, 1789.

Conference is out of the question. You have used me basely and ungratefully, after I have served you between forty and fifty years ; and if I had not two strings to my bow I should have been in a fine condition. Your letters are a proof of all I say concerning you. If you and the six other persons who sign your letter of the 26th instant issued out all the money whereby the house at Millbourn Place was built, you are honest men ; if not, I will not call you so. One of the twelve original rules of Methodism is, ' You are to do that part of

¹ See letter of Jan. 7.

the work which I appoint'; but this cannot be unless I have a right of appointing the preachers in all the Methodist preaching-houses.¹ I am old, and you apparently young; yet you know not which of us will first be called hence. I wish you all well, and am

Your affectionate brother.

To Rebecca Ingram

Miss Ingram was the daughter of Jacques Ingram, one of the clergymen in Limerick, who was married to a sister of Edward Smyth. On May 12 Wesley stayed with this 'lovely family, where I wanted nothing which the kingdom could afford.' George Brown was the Assistant at Ballyconnell, and had evidently been attracted to her. See *Journal*, vii. 495; and letter of June 28 to her.

WATERFORD, April 29, 1789.

To receive a line from you was an unexpected pleasure. You will please to inform Mr. Brown that, as I purpose setting out from Kilfinane pretty early on Tuesday morning, May 12, I shall probably be at Limerick between twelve and one. I am glad to find your love does not grow cold, nor your desires after all the mind that was in Christ. Now is the time to regain the whole image of God, wherein you was created. O be satisfied with nothing less, and you will surely receive it by simple faith! The Lord increase your faith! So prays

Yours affectionately.

To Walter Churchey

CORK, May 4, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am afraid Henry Floyd's estate is unsaleable, unless he can find the writing, for I cannot. I shall not be in London before October at soonest; but if Henry Moore will revise the copy,¹ he will do almost as well as me. I hope the beginning of the work is in the press, else the book will not be printed off before Michaelmas. I wonder you do not understand mankind better, especially those wretches the *great vulgar*. If two in three of your subscribers stand to their word, it will be strange indeed. It was a deadly step not to secure half the money at the time of subscription.

¹ See letter of April 11 to Peter Mill.

² Moore was at City Road, near

to the printer of Churchey's *Poems*. See letters of March 3 and May 25 to him.

I receive the whole. I have now about sixty guineas, and hope to receive as many more. But where have you lived that you have found so many generous men? It is strange that you should know more of them than I do. I am utterly against printing above five hundred copies.¹ If you and I between us can procure four hundred subscriptions, it is all we can expect. —I am, in haste, Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Churchey, Near the Hoy,
Brecon.

To Samuel Bradburn

BANDON, May 6, 1789.

DEAR SAMMY,—You are a compassionate man; and when you undertake a good work you do it with your might. For God's sake, for the gospel's sake, and for my sake, put a full stop to this vile affair, the prosecution of poor Sally Brown.² If it is not stopped, I shall be under a necessity of excluding from our Society not only Eliz. Sharp but Joseph Bowers also. She would not dare to proceed thus without his connivance, if not encouragement. He can stop her if he will. She will not break with him. I will not enter into merits of the case at all. (That I have done already.) But I insist upon this. All of them are or were members of our Society. Therefore they were not at liberty to go to law with each other, but are under an obligation to stand to the decision of me or the Assistant. I pray, spare no pains. Put a full end to the business, that the scandal may be removed. Peace be with you and yours!—I am, dear Sammy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Jonathan Crowther

Crowther was at Dalkeith. He found that John Pawson, when stationed in Edinburgh, had ordained seven elders to superintend the work at Glasgow. They formed a court, in which the preachers presided, but had no votes. Wesley took firm steps to end the trouble which Pawson had foolishly brought upon his successors. See Tyerman's *Wesley*, iii. 581-2.

¹ Wesley's prudence and business sagacity contrast favourably with the lawyer's. See letters of Jan. 27 and May 25 to him.

² She probably met in Bower's class. Wesley's Diary has several entries. See *Journal Index*; and letter of Sept. 20, 1789.

CORK, May 10, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—‘Sessions!’ ‘elders!’ We Methodists have no such customs, neither any of the Churches of God that are under my care. I require *you*, Jonathan Crowther, immediately to disband that session (so called) at Glasgow. Discharge them from meeting any more. And if they will leave the Society, let them leave it. We acknowledge only preachers, stewards, and leaders among us, over whom the Assistant in each circuit presides. You ought to have kept to the Methodist plan from the first. Who had any authority to vary from it? If the people of Glasgow or any other place are weary of us, we will leave them to themselves. But we are willing to continue their servants, for Christ’s sake, according to our own discipline, but no other.—I am, dear Jonathan,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Armstrong

LIMERICK, May 14, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You will do well to write me a line that I might know you had not forgotten me; I hope you never will till we come to the place where parting will be no more. I was well pleased when we were at Athlone to find you had not engaged with either of the contending parties. Indeed, they are contending about nothing, about straws, about such trifles as are not worth the mentioning. Till I came hither I was afraid there was some grievous misdemeanour on the one side or the other. And as you are friendly received by them all, who knows but you may be an instrument of good, a means of reconciling them to each other? Let former things die and be forgotten. Now let my dear Sister Rutledge and you join hand and hand in putting out every spark of contention.¹ So will you be more and more beloved by, my dear Jenny,
Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. James Armstrong, Athlone.

To Mrs. Freeman

CASTLEBAR, May 20, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—All this noise and confusion I impute to an artful busy man, who has thrown wildfire among them

¹ See letter of April 22.

that were quiet in the land. However, when I meet the classes, I will propose that question in each—Who of you wishes the Sunday service to continue, and who does not?¹ What demonstrates the matter of this outcry to be a mere Bugbear is this: When we began the service on Sunday mornings in London, and afterwards in Bristol, no living creature ever said it was ‘leaving the Church.’ This is a palpable falsehood. It would not pass in England. A man bawls out, ‘Fire, fire!’ and puts people in a fright, when there is no fire at all but in his own imagination. And he will keep *you* in a fright while you hearken to him.² Good it had been for that man if he had not been born!—I am, my dear sister,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Jane Freeman, At
the New Room, In Dublin.

To Alexander Suter

KILLASHANDRA, May 21, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It was affirmed to me that *you* gave one of the first occasions of disagreement by ‘refusing to read the Prayers and speaking contemptuously of them.’ Conversing with so many Presbyterians in Scotland might easily lead you into such a prejudice.

I have lying by me a very warm letter from one Edward Thomas, who seems ready to swallow up all that speak a word against Lawrence Kane.³ I hear nothing from Nehemiah Janes. You are blamed for not preaching as often as you can; I hope there is no ground for this charge.⁴ Take care your own spirit is not sharpened!—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Suter, At the Preaching-house,
In Plymouth Dock.

To Walter Churchey

CLONES, May 25, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am afraid of delay. I doubt we shall not be able to be as good as our word, although in the last

¹ See letter of June 13, 1788.

² James Deaves: see letter of April 23.

³ Kane was Assistant at Plymouth.

Thomas acknowledged his faults, and was restored to the Society. See letters of June 9 and Aug. 29.

⁴ See letter of July 23, 1788.

proposals I have protracted the time of delivery till the 1st of August. As you are not a stripling, I wonder you have not yet learned the difference between *promise* and *performance*.¹ I allow at least five-and-twenty per cent.; and from this conviction I say to each of *my* subscribers (which, indeed, *you* cannot so decently say to *yours*), 'Sir, down with your money.' I know Dr. [Ogilvie] well²: he is a lovely man, and an excellent poet.

I commend you for inoculating the children. *I believe the hand of God is in our present work; therefore it must prosper.*

Indeed, I love Sister Churchey; and am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Thomas Wride

SIDARE, May 28, 1789.

Nay, Tommy, nay: you are more nice than wise. I have seen worse verses than these, even in print, in the very poems of William Darney.³ The rhymes are not bad. Why should you damp a rising genius? If he and [you] were to set your wits together, you would surely produce something! Deal very gently with the young man. I am persuaded he will take advice.

You did exceeding well with regard to the house proposed to be built at Brompton. We have fresh warning. Good Brother Coates and Todd have given our preaching-house at North Shields to John Atlay and William Eels.⁴ So you see what we have to trust to. But you must deal exceedingly tenderly with them. Not one harsh or passionate word, or they will make their advantage of it. Above all, you should make it a matter of prayer.—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Mullis

NEW CHAPEL [LONDONDERRY], May 31, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You are right in your judgement that God never withdraws the light of His countenance but for some

¹ See letters of May 4 and Aug. 26.

² Probably Dr. John Ogilvie, an extract from whose poem 'Solitude, or The Elysium of the Poets,' in favour of Ossian, appears in Churchey's volume.

³ For Darney (who published a *Collection of Hymns in Four Parts* in 1751) see letter of Feb. 9, 1750.

⁴ See letter of April 11 to Peter Mill.

fault in us ; and in order to retain that light you should carefully follow the conviction He gives you from time to time. You should likewise labour to avoid all unprofitable reasonings ; then you will soon walk in the light as He is in the light.—I am, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

To John Bredin

LONDONDERRY, June 1, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—My belief is that neither one air nor another signifies a straw. The matter of complaint lies within, not without ; and if anything could remove it, it would be the taking an ounce of lime water every morning for sixteen days and ten drops of elixir of vitriol in a glass of pure water every afternoon. Meantime you should walk an hour at least every day, five or ten minutes at a time ;—when it is fine, in the open air ; when it rains, in the house.¹

It will be well if you can raise a sufficient collection to build a preaching-house in Jersey.² And why not, if you set upon it in faith ? Are not all things possible to him that believeth ? But if you do build, take care to have windows enough and two broad doors ; and do not build a scarecrow of an house.

Certainly, whenever you leave Jersey and Guernsey, you will do well to return to Ireland. But have a care ! If you give way to discontent, it will find you in any place.—I am
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To the Printer of the ' Dublin Chronicle '

Wesley had five hundred communicants on March 29, and asked William Myles to assist him. The following week a long paragraph appeared in the *Evening Post* setting forth that the Church was in danger, and calling on the Archbishop and dignified clergy to step forward, as Myles, a layman, had done this—the greatest innovation that had occurred for the last fifty years. The controversy went on for three months. See *Arminian Magazine*, 1797, p. 313, and letters of March 31 and June 20 (to the Publisher of the *Dublin Chronicle*).

LONDONDERRY, June 2, 1789.

SIR,—I. As soon as I was gone from Dublin, the *Observer* came forth, only with his face covered. Afterwards he came

¹ See letters of Nov. 16, 1785 (to him), and Oct. 17, 1790. ² See letter of Nov. 5, 1788.

out under another name, and made a silly defence for me, that he might have the honour of answering it. His words are smoother than oil, and flow (who can doubt it ?) from mere love both to me and the people.

2. But what does this smooth, candid writer endeavour to prove, with all the softness and good humour imaginable ? Only this point (to express it in plain English), that I am a double-tongued knave, an old crafty hypocrite, who have used religion merely for a cloak, and have worn a mask for these fifty years, saying one thing and meaning another.

A bold charge this ; only it happens that matter of fact contradicts it from the beginning to the end.

3. In my youth I was not only a member of the Church of England, but a bigot to it, believing none but the members of it to be in a state of salvation. I began to abate of this violence in 1729. But still I was as zealous as ever, observing every point of Church discipline, and teaching all my pupils so to do. When I was abroad, I observed every rule of the Church, even at the peril of my life. I knew not what might be the consequence of repelling the first magistrate's niece¹ from the sacrament, considering, on the one hand the power lodged in his hands, on the other the violence of his temper, shown by his declaration, ' I have drawn the sword, and I will never sheathe it till I have satisfaction.'

4. I was exactly of the same sentiment when I returned from America. I attended St. Paul's Church, and advised all our Society either to attend there every Sunday or at their several parish churches. In the year 1743 I published the Rules of the Society ; one of which was that all the members thereof should constantly attend the church and sacrament. We had then a large Society at Newcastle-upon-Tyne ; but one of the members totally left it after a few months, ' because,' said he, ' they are mere Church-of-England men.'

5. About the year 1744 a clergyman offered me a chapel in West Street, Seven Dials (formerly a French church), and I began to officiate there on Sunday mornings and evenings. We did the same (my brother and I alternately) soon after at

¹ See letters of July 5, 1737, to Thomas Causton and Mrs. Williamson (Sophia Hopkey).

the French church in Spitalfields as soon as it came into our hands. This we continued from that time ; and no one in England ever thought or called it leaving the Church. It was never esteemed so by Archbishop Potter, with whom I had the happiness of conversing freely ; nor by Archbishop Secker, who was thoroughly acquainted with every step we took ; as was likewise Dr. Gibson, then Bishop of London ; and that great man Bishop Lowth. Nor did any of these four venerable men ever blame me for it in all the conversations I had with them. Only Archbishop Potter once said, ' Those gentlemen are irregular ; but they have done good, and I pray God to bless them.'

6. It may be observed that all this time, if my brother or I were ill, I desired one of our other preachers, though not ordained, to preach in either of the chapels after reading part of the Church Prayers. This both my brother and I judged would endear the Church Prayers to them ; whereas, if they were used wholly to extemporary prayer, they would naturally contract a kind of contempt if not a version to forms of prayer : so careful were we from the beginning to prevent their leaving the Church.

7. It is true Bishop Gibson once said (but it was before I had ever seen him), ' Why do not these gentlemen leave the Church ? ' The answer was very ready : ' Because they dare not ; they do not leave the Church because they believe it is their duty to continue therein.'

8. When the Rev. Mr. Edward Smyth came to live in Dublin, he earnestly advised me to leave the Church ; meaning thereby (as all sensible men do) to renounce all connexion with it, to attend the service of it no more, and to advise all our Societies to take the same steps. I judged this to be a matter of great importance, and would therefore do nothing hastily, but referred it to the body of preachers, then met in Conference. We had several meetings, in which he proposed all his reasons for it at large. They were severally considered and answered, and we all determined not to leave the Church.

9. A year ago Dr. Coke began officiating at our chapel in Dublin. This was no more than had been done in London for between forty and fifty years. Some persons immediately

began to cry out, 'This is leaving the Church, which Mr. Wesley has continually declared he would never do.' And I declare so still. But I appeal to all the world, I appeal to common sense, I appeal to the *Observer* himself, could I mean hereby 'I will not have service in church hours' when I was doing it all the time! Could I even then deny that I had service in church hours? No; but I denied, and do deny still, that this is leaving the Church, either in the sense of Bishop Gibson, or of Mr. Smyth at the Dublin Conference! Yet by this outcry many well-meaning people were frightened wellnigh out of their senses.

10. But see the consequences of having Sunday service here. See the confusion this occasioned! Some time since, while a popular preacher was preaching at Leeds, one cried out, 'Fire! fire!' The people took fright; some leaped over the gallery, and several legs and arms were broken. But upon whom were these consequences to be charged? Not on the preacher, but on him that made the outcry. Apply this to the present case. I have kindled no more fire in Dublin than I did in London. It is the *Observer* and a few other mischief-makers who fright the people out of their senses; and they must answer to God for the consequence.

11. This is my answer to them that trouble me and will not let my grey hairs go down to the grave in peace. I am not a man of duplicity: I am not an old hypocrite, a double-tongued knave. More than forty years I have frequented Ireland. I have wished to do some good there. I now tell a plain tale that 'the good which is in me may not be evil spoken of.' I have no temporal end to serve. I seek not the honour that cometh of men. It is not for pleasure that at this time of life I travel three or four thousand miles a year. It is not for gain.

No foot of land do I possess,
No cottage in this wilderness;
A poor wayfaring man,
I lodge awhile in tents below,
Or gladly wander to and fro,
Till I my Canaan gain.

PS.—At the desire of a friend I add a few words in answer to one or two other objections.

First. When I said, 'I believe I am a scriptural bishop,' I spoke on Lord King's supposition that bishops and presbyters are essentially one order.

Secondly. I did desire Mr. Myles to assist me in delivering the cup. Now, be this right or wrong, how does it prove the point now in question—that I leave the Church? I ask (2) What law of the Church forbids this? and (3) What law of the Primitive Church? Did not the priest in the Primitive Church send both the bread and wine to the sick by whom he pleased, though not ordained at all?

Thirdly. The *Observer* affirms, 'To say you will not leave the Church, meaning thereby all the true believers in England, is trifling.' Certainly; but I do not mean so when I say, 'I will not leave the Church.' I mean, unless I see more reason for it than I ever yet saw, I will not leave the Church of England as by law established while the breath of God is in my nostrils.

To Mrs. Crosby

John Pawson was at Leeds, and in August removed to Birstall. The other preachers, John Peacock and William Collins, also removed from Leeds. Wesley had left Dublin on April 13, and on May 5, not feeling very well, got Joseph Bradford, his travelling companion, to preach in the morning. On April 6 he writes, 'To-day and for some days following I was so overborne with letters that I had hardly time to do anything but to read and answer them.' On June 4 he notes, 'I was fully employed in answering an heap of letters.'

COLERAINE, *June 4, 1789.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—You do well to write to me with all freedom. There does not need to be any reserve between you and me. When I broke my rule formerly in favour of Mr. Pawson, by letting him stay a third year at Bristol, I did not hear the last of it for several years. I will not, cannot, dare not, break it again, only in favour of a wife near the time of lying-in.

I believe it will be expedient for all the preachers to remove from Leeds. It is a cruel thing for preachers to disparage one another.¹ . . .

¹ A short sentence follows which is illegible.

I am in better health than when I left Dublin.—I am, dear Sally,
Your affectionate brother.

To George Flamank

PORTAFERRY, June 9, 1789.

MY DEAR BRETHREN,—‘Heaviness may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning.’ I hope to set out for the West immediately after the Conference, and probably I shall bring with me one or two men of peace, by whom all these misunderstandings will be removed.¹ In your patience meantime, possess ye your souls. And those that suffer all will surely conquer all.—I am, my dear brethren,
Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. George Flamank, Officer of Excise,
In Plymouth.

To Anne Moore

Henry Moore quotes these words from a letter to his wife, and adds : ‘She was deeply sensible of Mr. Wesley’s kindness ; but, true to her principle, she did not reply, and I was obliged to answer the letter and apologize. She thus practised mental self-denial as well as bodily.’ See his *Life*, p. 238.

RATHFRILAND, June 11, 1789.

Has my dear Nancy quite forgotten me ? If you have, I have not forgotten *you* ; and if you think I ever shall, you will be mistaken : I shall remember and love you till we meet in a better place.

To Walter Churchey

DUBLIN, June 20, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Michael [Fenwick] is an original. He tells lies innumerable, many of them plausible enough. But many talk full as plausibly as he, and they that can believe him may. I do not doubt but some part of your verse as well as prose will reach the hearts of some of the rich.

Dr. Coke made two or three little alterations in the Prayer-

¹ See letters of May 21 and July 21 (to Richard Bunt).

Book without my knowledge.¹ I took particular care throughout to alter nothing merely for altering's sake. In religion I am for as few innovations as possible. I love the old wine best. And if it were only on this account, I prefer 'which' before 'who art in heaven.'

Mr. Howard is really an extraordinary man.² God has raised him up to be a blessing to many nations. I do not doubt but there has been something more than natural in his preservation hitherto, and should not wonder if the providence of God should hereafter be still more conspicuous in his favour.

About three weeks hence I expect to embark for England. Peace be with you and yours — I am

Your affectionate brother.

To the Publisher of the 'Dublin Chronicle'

June 20, 1789.

Since Mr. Edward Smyth,³ as he says, 'has me in his power,' I hope as he is stout he will be merciful; and that he will remember the words of the honest Quaker to him that answered the *Ernest Appeal*, 'Canst thou not be content with laying John Wesley on his back, but thou wilt tread his guts out too?'

To Zachariah Yewdall

Yewdall was responsible for the debt on the new Chapel at Dalkeith. Alexander Mather lent him £20, and wrote to Wesley, who promised to be answerable for £100. Yewdall's private diary says, 'Now there seems a way making for my escape.' On October 10, 1788, in recording this happy result he writes: 'I once thought I must have it thrown upon my own hands, have sold it, or gone to prison, as I was ordered from the circuit without any way of deliverance from the debt?' He was stationed at Berwick, but went to Dalkeith every other month, and in 1789 was appointed to Glasgow. Mather was now at Wakefield, and Wesley himself was the friend behind the curtain.

¹ *The Sunday Service of the Methodists*. A new edition was printed in 1788. See Green's *Bibliography*, Appendix, pp. vii-ix, and Nos. 376, 390; letter also of Sept. 10, 1784.

² Wesley met John Howard on July 28, 1787, in Dublin: 'I think one of the greatest men in Europe.'

He called on Wesley in March 1789, but found him away on one of his journeys. See *Journal*, vii. 295, 472n.

³ See letters of June 2 and June 25 (to Adam Clarke).

⁴ See letter of Nov. 4, 1758, §5 (Mr. Potter).

DUBLIN, June 20, 1789.

DEAR ZACHARY,—You have chose an admirably good advocate in honest Alexander Mather. I shall blame you if you cannot plead your own cause when you have him at your elbows, especially when you know you have another friend standing behind the curtain. For with regard to circuits to be assigned, or any other assistance you may be assured of anything that is in the power of

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Yewdall, In South Wynd,
In Edinburgh, P. Portpatrick.

To George Holder

On his way to Dublin in March Wesley was so ill throughout the day as to be fit for nothing. John Smith was admitted on trial in 1789, and stationed at Birmingham. Holder had replied to Wesley's letter of February 28, giving with joy and gratitude an account of God's blessing on the work. He was 'specially suited to the Isle of Man appointment.' See *Journal*, vii. 481; Rosser's *Wesleyan Methodism in the Isle of Man*, p. 118; for the voyage, compare letter of July 14.

DUBLIN, June 24, 1789.

DEAR GEORGE,—You send me an agreeable account of the work of God in the isle. If He will work who shall stay His hand? I should be glad of an opportunity of seeing my friends that are with you once more; but I cannot reasonably expect it. In my last voyage the sea affected me more than ever it did before in my life; so that I perceive my voyages draw toward an end. Brother Smith may bring all the accounts to the Conference, and will be stationed in England the next year.—I am, dear George,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Adam Clarke

NEAR DUBLIN, June 25, 1789.

DEAR ADAM,—You send me good news with regard to the islands. Who can hurt us, if God is on our side? Trials may come, but they are all good. I have not been so tried for many years. Every week and almost every day I am bespattered in the public papers, either by Mr. Smyth or by Mr. Mann, his curate. Smooth but bitter as wormwood are their words;

and five or six of our richest members have left the Society, because (they say) 'I have left the Church.'¹ Many were in tears on that occasion, many terribly frightened, and crying out, 'Oh, what will the end be?' What will it be? Why, 'Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, and goodwill among men.'

But meantime what is to be done? What will be the most effectual means to stem this furious torrent? I have just visited the classes, and find still in the Society upwards of a thousand members; and among these many as deep Christians as any I have met with in Europe. But who is able to watch over them that they may not be moved from their steadfastness? I know none more proper than Adam Clarke and his wife.² Indeed, it may seem hard for them to go into a strange land again. Well, you may come to me at Leeds, at the latter end of next month; and if you can show me any that are more proper, I will send them in your stead. That God may be glorified is all that is desired by, dear Adam,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Arthur Keene

DUBLIN, June 25, 1789.

Alas, Arthur, is this possible? Can a few well-meaning but ill-judging men still throw dust into your eyes, and tear you away from an old, tried friend? And while they cry out, Conscience! Conscience! will they deny liberty of conscience to

Your affectionate brother.

I am ready to talk with you alone at any time and place. Suppose Mr. D'Olier's.

To President Heath

Asbury says in his Journal on August 10, 1788: 'I received heavy tidings from the college. Both our teachers have left—one for incompetency, and the other to pursue riches and honours. Had they cost us nothing, the mistake we made in employing them might be the less regretted.' Dr. Coke visited Cokesbury in May 1789, where he examined all the classes, and was more than ever delighted with the situation.

¹ See letters of June 20 (to the publisher of the *Dublin Chronicle*) and July 1.

² He was appointed to Bristol and Thomas Rutherford to Dublin.

He describes Heath, the President, as both the scholar, the philosopher, and the gentleman: he truly fears God, and pays a most exact and delicate attention to all the rules of the institution. See letters of December 2, 1788, and July 3, 1790 (to Heath).

ROXANNA, NEAR WICKLOW, June 26, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—I exceedingly wanted to hear from you. I thought Mrs. Heath and you had not forgotten me, although it would not be strange if you had, as (in youth especially) ' thought.'¹ If that had been the case, if you had taken no care to fulfil the engagement, I should have judged the engagement between you and Dr. Coke would have stood good. But if (as I suppose) you was able and willing to teach, did in fact teach the children, then I should judge the engagement between him and you should be let fall on both sides. To which (I will take upon me to say) Dr. Coke will very willingly consent.

I would go a good way to take you and your dear family by the hand; but the price of travelling by sea is now When I crossed the Atlantic, a cabin passenger paid five pounds for his passage. Now they have swelled it to above twice as much. I should willingly give fifty pounds toward your passage; and

Eternal Providence, exceeding thought,
When none appears, can make itself a way.

I am glad of the information you gave me concerning the state of things in America. I shall be better able to understand the accounts which Dr. Coke will probably give me. O what a comfort it is to think that the Lord reigneth and will order all things well! I commit you and dear Mrs. Heath (how I love her!) to His keeping and arms.—Dear sir,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

The Rev. Mr. Heath, At Burlington,
New Jersey.

To Anna and Maria Heath

The letter was missent to Southampton, and returned to Wesley at Moorfields for one shilling, American postage. On the back of the address is the following:

¹ Five lines erased.

June 26, 1789.

MY DEAR ANNA AND MARIA,—I love to see your names, and I . . . the paper. Perhaps I may live to see those that wrote them. If not, I shall see you in a better place.—My dear children, adieu!

To Mrs. Ingram

DUBLIN, June 28, 1789.

MY DEAR MADAM,—Your letter gave me much satisfaction. I am obliged to you for taking the trouble of writing. Indeed, when I saw your name, I was afraid of finding a fresh accusation; therefore I was the more agreeably surprised when I read what you had written. I shall not easily do anything that would give you pain; but whatever would be agreeable to you will be so to,¹ dear Madam, Your affectionate servant,

To Rebecca Ingram

DUBLIN, June 28, 1789

MY DEAR BECKY,—I will tell you my thoughts without the least reserve. These are the rules in the *Large Minutes* of Conference,—that 'no Methodist (and least of all a preacher) ought to marry a woman without the consent of her parents'; and the same thing is insisted upon in one of the sermons in the *Arminian Magazine*. Therefore I cannot commend Mr. Brown for saying anything to you on that head without the consent of your father.¹ But I exceedingly approve of your present temper and behaviour. I commend your resignation to the will of God. Keep there! Beware of murmuring; beware of fretting; beware of the sorrow which worketh death! I commend you to Him who can save you to the utmost; and am, my dear Becky,

Yours.

To Robert Dall

The Conference of 1789 met in Leeds on July 28. In 1788 Joseph Cownley and John Barber were stationed in Edinburgh. Joseph Cole and Robert Dall at Ayr and Dumfries. Charles Atmore was a valuable man for Scotland, he had been in Edinburgh in 1786-7, and was now

¹ See next letter.

² See letters of April 29 and July 5. to her.

at Colne; in 1789 he moved to Newcastle. Jonathan Thompson was received on trial at the Conference of 1789: he had been very useful as a local preacher at Ayr, and laboured with great zeal in the Inverness Circuit; he died of fever in 1789 at Elgin, and was buried in Joshua Keighley's grave. See *Atmore's Memorial*, p. 424.

DUBLIN, *June 29, 1789.*

DEAR ROBERT,—Why do not all you Scots direct to Dublin by Portpatrick, to save five hundred miles? Brother Cole and Barber have done well: so will all whose hearts are in their work. I have referred to honest Joseph Cownley to determine what preachers should come from Scotland to the Conference. It seems to me you may come and John Barber another. Either Charles Atmore must return to Scotland, or he and I shall not agree. I was not at all satisfied at his going to England. It was using me extremely ill. I hope his future behaviour will be different and make amends for what is past. From the account you give of Jonathan Thompson there is reason to hope he will be an useful labourer in our Lord's vineyard. We have already had some useful ones from North Britain, and I trust shall have more. Dr. Coke has raised a storm almost in every part of this kingdom by talking of 'leaving the Church.' It would be well if they would leave these sins.—I am, dear Robert,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Arthur Keene

This fragment of a letter appeared in *W.H.S. Proceedings*, viii. 96. It was probably sent to Arthur Keene, and may be dated as given here.

DUBLIN, *July 1, 1789.*

If we do not meet till we reach a better world, you will suffer me to tell you, I love you dearly, and shall do so till our earthly course is run. And permit me to give you one advice more (you once valued my advice)—leave off disputing. Call off your thoughts as far as possible from all controverted points. You have one only point to attend to—Immanuel, God with us; to secure that single point—Christ in us, the hope of glory! What is all besides in comparison of that? O let it engage your whole soul. Yet a little while and all the rest will pass away like a shadow! It is [probable] you are

likely to spend a few more days upon earth when I am no more seen. But those days in comparison will vanish away like a dream when one awaketh. The wisdom from above meantime be the portion of you and yours ! So prays

Your ever affectionate brother.

To Henry Moore

DUBLIN, July 1, 1789.

DEAR HENRY,—It is well you can keep out of debt. I am glad Brother Graham and the poor stewards stand their ground. I shall not easily send four children to Bristol. I can't tell what you can do for James —, ¹ though I take him to be an honest man. I wonder what should come into the head of Mr. Reed to send money to poor John Bull ! ² He is just gone [out] of prison, [now] in hopes he will find means to live.

We had very hot work in Dublin for some time, occasioned by Mr. Smyth's and Mr. Mann's [letters] ³ in the newspapers. But I say nothing, and go straight on my way. Charles ⁴ is nothing to me. I serve God ; and am, dear Henry,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Ingram

DUBLIN, July 5, 1789.

MY DEAR MADAM,—After the fair and candid account that Miss Ingram ⁵ and you had given of the transaction, there was no fear that I should be much prejudiced by anything which had occurred. I advise my dear Becky and you to say as little as possible of what is past. It will then pass away like a dream ; while you both forget the things that are behind, and press towards the prize of your high calling in Christ Jesus.—I am, dear madam, Yours most affectionately.

To Rebecca Ingram

DUBLIN, July 5, 1789.

MY DEAR BECKY,—You mistake me. All I mean is this : it is a general rule with us, ' No one ought to propose marriage

¹ Name illegible.

² See letter of Sept. 30, 1787.

³ See letter of June 25 to Adam Clarke.

⁴ Can this be his brother, whose views about the Church may have been quoted against him ?

⁵ See letter of June 28 to her.

to a woman till he has the consent of her parents.' So you fear where no fear is. You say, 'Marriage was not proposed¹ to' you; and I believe you. Therefore it is your wisdom to think of past things as little as possible. You have something better to employ your thoughts. The prize and the crown are before you. Look unto Jesus! He is altogether lovely; but how little have you loved Him! Let all the springs of your happiness be in Him.—My dear Becky,

Yours very affectionately.

To Arthur Keene

DUBLIN, July 6, 1789.

I acknowledge the hand of James Deaves in your letter.² I cannot dispute with him, for he has ten words to my one.

You have run away from me, not I from you. I stand where I have stood these fifty years. I no more leave the Church than I leave the body.

But I have done. The Lord God judge between him and you and
Your much injured friend.³

To Henry Moore

CHESTER, July 14, 1789.

DEAR HENRY,—After a very agreeable voyage, wherein I was not sick a moment,⁴ I landed at Parkgate this morning. I propose spending Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday at Manchester, and the next week hiding myself at Otley.

Not anything which Dr. Coke has said or done, but the vile, wilful misrepresentation of it, had set all Ireland in a flame. But I am in hope it is now in a great measure quenched. It has brought a flood of obloquy upon *me*.⁵ But it is all well. We now fear greater danger from honour than dishonour. God will surely exalt us if we do not exalt ourselves.

¹ See previous letter.

² See letter of May 20. The opposition to service in church hours continued till the time was changed from ten to two. See Crookshank's

Methodism in Ireland, i. 452.

³ See letter of April 28, 1790, to him.

⁴ Compare letter of June 24.

⁵ See letter of July 1.

I do not know that any of our clergymen can be spared from London. But I expect to see Brother Rankin, Whitfield, and you at the Conference, or at Otley a day or two before it. We shall have some points of deep importance to consider.—I am, with love to my Nancy, dear Henry,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

Let T. Rankin and you write down what is on your mind.

To John Dickins

John Dickins, the only Methodist preacher in Philadelphia in 1789, began the Methodist Book Concern there with \$600, which he lent it. His first volume was Wesley's translation of Kempis's *The Christian's Pattern*. The Concern was moved to New York in 1804. Dickins, born in London and educated at Eton, was a true scholar and a powerful preacher. He died of yellow fever in 1798.

CHESTER, July 15, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It was a concern to *me* likewise that you should have so little employment in the work of God, as it was your real desire to be of use to the world before you are called to a better. Therefore I am glad to find Providence has pointed out a way wherein you may be of general use, and the more so as in some of the extracts from late authors the inattention of my corrector inserted some sentences which I had blotted out, two or three of which assert Universal Restitution. The numerous errata likewise I doubt not you will carefully correct, which sometimes spoil the sense.¹ Wishing you much of the favour and of the presence of God, I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To the Rev. John Dickins, Market Street,
Philadelphia, Pa.

To Henry Eames

CHESTER, July 15, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—After the many proofs which you have already had both of the power and goodness of God, particularly in giving you your heart's desire in the change wrought in several of your children, you can have no reason to

¹ See letter of Aug. 15.

doubt but that He will give you your mother also if you continue earnest in prayer.¹ The great hindrance to the inward work of God is Antinomianism, wherever it breaks in. I am glad you are aware of it. Show your faith by your works. Fight the good fight of faith and lay hold on eternal life. Peace be with you and yours.—I am Yours affectionately.

To Freeborn Garrettson

CHESTER, July 15, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You are entirely in the right. There can be no manner of doubt that it was the enemy of souls that hindered your sending me your experience. Many parts both of your inward and outward experience ought by no means to be suppressed. But if you are minded to send anything to me, you have no time to lose.² Whatever you do for me you must do quickly, lest death have quicker wings than love. A great man observes that there is a threefold leading of the Spirit : some He leads by giving them on every occasion apposite texts of Scripture ; some by suggesting reasons for every step they take—the way by which He chiefly leads me ; and some by impressions. But He judges the last to be the least desirable way, as it is often impossible to distinguish dark impressions from divine or even diabolical.

I hope you will not long delay to write more particularly to
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Henry Moore

There is much underlying this suave reference to Atlay. Wesley was not willing to have the traitor loose in London while his experienced preachers were in Leeds. If Atlay stayed in town, Moore must stay also to guard against mischief. See letter of September 24, 1788 ; and for the Dewsbury case, which was to be discussed at Conference, August 23, 1789.

MANCHESTER, July 17, 1789.

DEAR HENRY,—I came hither yesterday, and purpose to spend most of the next week at Otley. I had forgot, when I wrote last, that our dear friend Mr. Atlay was in London.

¹ See letter of Aug. 3, 1772.

² See letters of Jan. 24, 1789, and Feb. 3, 1790, to him.

If he is there still, you cannot be so unkind as to leave him behind you ; so that you can only send T. Rankin and George Whitfield to bear us company at Leeds. But if he is gone to Yorkshire you may go thither to.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Samuel Bardsley

OTLEY, July 21, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad to hear so good an account of the work of God at Bideford.¹ That town had held out long and seemed to bid defiance to the gospel. But if we are not weary of well-doing we shall reap in due time. I should hardly have expected any increase of the work of God in Launceston ; but probably it will be enlarged by your preaching in the Town Hall, for many will come thither who would not come to our preaching-house.

As long as you and your fellow labourers converse freely together and act by united counsels the work of the Lord will prosper in your hands. And continue instant in prayer, particularly in your closet.—I am, dear Sammy,

Your affectionate brother.

To Richard Bunt

OTLEY, July 21, 1789.

Regard no one who tells you that idle tale of the Mayor and Corporation moving the Court of King's Bench against a man for speaking such words. The whole Court would laugh a man to scorn that pretended to any such thing. And your Corporation is not so weak as to think of any such thing. If ever anything of the kind should be moved, send me word (I hope to be in Plymouth in two or three weeks²), and I will make them sick of the King's Bench as long as they live.—I am

Your affectionate servant.

To Mr. Richard Bunt, In Bideford,
Devon.

¹ See next letter and that of Nov. 25.

² He was at Plymouth on Aug. 13.

³ See letters of June 9, 1789, and Jan. 13, 1790.

To Ann Bolton

LEEDS, July 27, 1789.

MY DEAR NANCY,—Although what you propose is quite a new thing such as we have yet no precedent of, yet I do not know but it may be a means of much good. It may be worth while to make a trial for a year, especially as Brother Pescod¹ is willing himself to make the first experiment. But it would be well to do so on a regular plan, a kind of circuit, and not to ramble without any rule. Wishing you a continual power to do and suffer all the will of God, I am, my dear Nancy,

Yours most affectionately.

To Miss Bolton, In Witney,
Oxfordshire.

To Mrs. Rose

LEEDS, July 29, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER—It has pleased God to prove you for many years in the furnace of affliction. But He has always been with you in the fire that you might be purified, not consumed. You have therefore good reason to trust Him. Do not reason, but believe! Hang upon Him as a little child, and your eyes shall see His full salvation!—I am,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Eliz. Rose, In Sheffield.

To Sarah Rutter

Miss Rutter was awakened under a sermon which Wesley preached at St. Neots on October 28, 1788. The Conference was now sitting. The Bedford appointment for 1789 is 'William Jenkins, John Ramshaw.'

LEEDS, July 29, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I commend our sisters and you for meeting in band. It is a very excellent means for building each other up in the love and knowledge of God. Mr. Jenkins is appointed to stay with you another year, and another preacher that breathes the same spirit. You would have done well if you had wrote to me long ago, and it might have saved you much trouble.

¹ Joseph Pescod, the Assistant in Oxfordshire in 1788, moved to St. Ives soon after this letter was written.

If I live till autumn, I shall see you again at St. Neots; when I hope to find you and all the family fighting the good fight of faith and laying hold on eternal life.—I am,
 dear Sally,

Yours affectionately.

To Miss Sally Rutter, St. Neots.

To Mr. —

LEEDS, July 30, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I will take care to give a true view of the affairs of Worcester both to John Leech (as good-natured a man as lives) and Brother Kane.¹ I will order J. Leech to change the stewards without delay, and to execute the orders which I gave when at Worcester. Brother Kane will show you the letter Mr. [York] wrote to me, at whose request I send him to your circuit.—I am Your affectionate brother.

(To Mrs. Knapp see page 271)

To James Bogie

LEEDS, August 1, 1789.

DEAR JEMMY,—Your division of Scotland into the three southern circuits is exceedingly well judged.² You will see by the *Minutes* of Conference that it is put into execution. I trust in a few months' time to see thorough Methodist discipline both in Glasgow, Ayr, and Dumfries. And pray do not forget Greenock. I have letters thence calling for help. Let not any poor soul perish for lack of knowledge if it be in our power to prevent it.—I am, dear Jemmy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. James Bogie, At the
 Preaching-house, In Glasgow.

To Ann Bolton

LEEDS, August 1, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I thank you for sending me so particular an account of your sister's death. 'Right precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints.' It is well you have

¹ Leech and Lawrence Kane were the new preachers. Leech, a zealous

and successful preacher, died in 1810.
² See letter of Oct. 11, 1788.

learned to say, 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord!' And you can say it even

When loss of friends ordained to know,—
Next pain and guilt, the sorest ill below.¹

But why does our Lord inflict this upon us? Not merely for His pleasure, but that we may be partakers of His holiness. It is true one grand means of grace is the doing the will of our Lord. But the suffering it is usually a quicker means and sinks us deeper into the abyss of love. It hath pleased God to lead you in the way of suffering from your youth up until now. For the present this is not joyous, but grievous; nevertheless it has yielded peaceable fruit. Your soul is still as a watered garden, as a field which the Lord hath blessed. Cleave to Him still with full purpose of heart. To His tender care I commend you; and am
Yours affectionately.

To Frances Godfrey

LEEDS, August 2, 1789.

It gives me pleasure, my dear Fanny, to hear that you still continue in the good way. Still press to the mark, to the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus. From what you have already experienced, you know there is one happiness in the earth below and in heaven above. You know God alone can satisfy your soul either in earth or heaven. Cleave to Him with full purpose of heart. If you seek happiness in anything but Him, you must be disappointed. I hope you find satisfaction likewise in some of your Christian companions. It is a blessed thing to have fellow travellers to the New Jerusalem. If you cannot find any, you must make them; for none can travel that road alone.' Then labour to help each other on that you may be altogether Christians. Wishing you health both of body and mind, I am, my dear Fanny,

Yours affectionately.

¹ S. Wesley, jun., on Dr. Gastrell.

² Compare the advice to Wesley; 'Sir, you are to serve God and go to heaven. Remember you cannot serve Him alone; you must

therefore find companions or make them: the Bible knows nothing of solitary religion.' See Telford's *Wesley*, p. 147.

To Mrs. Cock

LEEDS, August 3, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I am always well pleased to hear from you. When I first heard of your marriage, I was afraid of two things¹: the one was, that it would hurt your soul; the other, that it would prevent your usefulness—at least, that you would not be useful in so high a degree as otherwise you might be. But your last letter has given me much satisfaction. I now hope that your own soul has suffered no loss; and likewise that you will find many opportunities of doing good and will improve them to the uttermost. I want you to do the will of God below as angels do above. I want you to be all light, all fire, all love, and to grow up in all things into Him that is our Head; and still to love and pray for

Yours affectionately.

To Dr. Ford

LEEDS, August 3, 1789.

DEAR SIR,—It would have been a pleasure to me to wait upon you at Melton Mowbray.² But at present it cannot be, as I am engaged to be at Newark on Wednesday, at Hinxworth on Thursday, and at London on Friday.

Wishing every blessing to Mrs. Ford and you.—I am,
dear sir,

Your affectionate brother.

To the Rev. Dr. Ford,
Vicar of Melton Mowbray.

To Harriet Lewis

LEEDS, August 3, 1789.

You see, my dear Harriet, the blessed effects of Unconditional Perseverance! It leads the way by easy steps, first to presumption, and then to black despair! There will be no way to recover your poor friend to a scriptural faith but by taking away that broken reed from her, and by convincing her that if she dies in her present state she will perish eternally. It will indeed be a medicine that will put her to pain; but it will be the only one that will save her soul alive. What a blessing it is, my dear Harriet, that you have been saved from this poisonous doctrine! and that you are enabled to follow

¹ See letter of April 7.² See letter of Aug. 10, 1776, to him.

after that holiness without which we cannot see the Lord !
So run that you may obtain. The prize is before you. Never
be weary or faint in your mind. In due time you will reap
if you faint not.—I am Yours affectionately.

To Sarah Mallet

LEEDS, *August 3, 1789.*

DEAR SALLY,—I did not receive any letter from you but that which you wrote the last month. You may be assured of my answering every letter which I receive from *you*, because I have a real regard for you. I love you with a tender affection. You do well, therefore, whenever you write, to unbosom your whole soul to me. You may tell me any trial you meet with, and that with all simplicity. And tell me, on the other hand, whatever manifestations of the ever-blessed Trinity you find, and whatever uncommon degree of faith or hope or love you are favoured with from time to time. I hope you speak freely to Mr. Tattershall.¹ He is an excellent man and deeply acquainted with the things of God. You may learn much from him, and the more because you are willing to learn ; you are glad to be instructed. To do you any service that is in my power will always be a pleasure to, dear Sally,

Yours affectionately.

To Miss Sarah Mallet.

To Dr. Bradshaw

The Rev. Thomas Bradshaw died on November 21, 1791, at the age of thirty-eight, and was buried in Wesley's vault. See letter of May 29, 1780.

Wesley had long chafed under the errors that crept into the *Magazine*, and on August 9 had chosen a new person to prepare it. James Creighton followed Olivers as 'Editor,' and held the position till the Conference of 1792. See letters of March 24, 1757 (to Olivers), and July 15, 1789 (to John Dickinson).

PLYMOUTH DOCK, *August 15, 1789.*

DEAR SIR,—I cannot, dare not, will not suffer Thomas Olivers to murder the *Arminian Magazine* any longer. The errata are intolerable and innumerable. They shall be so no more. But he need not starve. He has the interest of some

¹ See letter of Dec. 15 to Miss Mallet.

hundred pounds yearly. To which I will add thirty pounds a year *quamdiu se bene gesserint*.¹—I am, dear sir,

To the Rev. Dr. Bradshaw,
No. 137 Bishopsgate Street.

Your affectionate servant.

To the Methodist Preachers

£208 was subscribed at the Conference, and £11 added by preachers not present. Every Assistant was instructed to 'make a private and public collection in his circuit for the purpose as soon as possible.' See *Journal*, vii. 523; and letters of July 30, 1788, and September 11, 1789.

REDRUTH, August 23, 1789.

Some years since, Mr. Valton wrote to me from Yorkshire, informing me there was great want of a larger preaching-house at Dewsbury, and desiring leave to make subscriptions and collections, in order to build one. I encouraged him to make them. Money was subscribed and collected, and the house built, which the trustees promised to settle in the usual form. But when it was finished, they refused to settle it, unless a power was given them to displace any preacher they should object to.

After all possible means had been used to bring them to a better mind, the case was referred to the Conference; and it was unanimously agreed to build another house as soon as possible, that the flock might not be scattered.

I therefore entreat every one that wishes well to Methodism, especially to the itinerant plan, to exert himself on this important occasion, that a work so absolutely necessary may be finished as soon as possible. I say absolutely necessary; for if the trustees of houses are to displace preachers, then itinerancy is at an end.—I am, my dear brother,

Your affectionate brother and servant for Christ's sake.

N.B.—Make this collection immediately. Lose not one day.

To Walter Churchey

Churchey's book, a big quarto of 858 pages, was printed by George Paramore, Worship Street, Moorfields, for the author, in 1789, and was

¹ The Act of Settlement, 1701, secured the Judges' independence, *quamdiu se bene gesserint* ('as long as they behave themselves well'). Previously they had been subject to dismissal at the will of the King.

entered at Stationers' Hall. The price was a guinea. Many Methodist names are in the list of subscribers. Wesley told him in a letter, 'I have procured an hundred guineas, and hope to procure fifty more' (Thomas Marriott, *Methodist Magazine*, 1849, p. 36). See letter of May 25.

ST. IVES, *August 26, 1789.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I suppose George Paramore has followed your direction and entered the book at Stationers' Hall. I have seldom entered any book there, and I have never found any inconvenience from the omission of it. Some days since I sent a list of the subscribers' names to London, although I do not see it necessary, for what had the names of the subscribers to do with any book unpublished? Is it merely to swell the book, or to do honour to the subscribers or the author?

I am now come to the furthest point of my Cornish journey, and shall in two or three hours turn my face toward Bristol. Peace be with you and yours!—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Edward Thomas

WINDMILL STREET, PLYMOUTH DOCK, *August 29, 1789.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Your letter gave me much satisfaction. I am sincerely glad that you are convinced you went too far, and I love you the better for having the courage to acknowledge it. It is now time that all which is past should be forgot, but it will be best to proceed by little and little. First, I will readmit you into the Society, then I will desire Mr. Warwick¹ after a time to give you the charge of a class, and soon after to employ you as a local preacher; and I trust you will be more useful than ever.

On all occasions you will find me

Your affectionate brother.

To William Thom

This is apparently John Holmes, who became a supernumerary at the Conference in July 1790. William Holmes had been Thom's colleague at Sarum in 1788 and moved to Redruth in 1789; that may explain his interest in the case.

PLYMOUTH DOCK, *August 30, 1789.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—The case of Mr. Holmes of all others ought to have been fully discussed at the Conference. It has

¹ Thomas Warwick, now Assistant at Plymouth. See letter of May 21.

been mentioned, I know, once and again, but not clearly determined. Several of our brethren did not think it proper to burthen ourselves with an old man and his family. Surely it is not proper for me single to overrule their judgment. I do not see what I can do. I would be willing to serve him any way I can ; but I do not see what way it can be done.—I am, with kind love to Sister Thom,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Thom, At the Preaching-house,
In Sarum.

To Dr. Coke

This is the most personal letter to Dr. Coke that has been preserved. That of September 10, 1784, is really to our brethren in North America, and those of March 12 and September 5, 1786, are on public matters. This letter is of historic importance because of Wesley's attitude towards the new Republic : ' I wish you to obey " the Powers that be " in America ; but I wish you to understand them too.'

Dr. Coke had returned from his third visit to America on July 10, 1789, bringing good news ' of the great revival and the great rapidity of the work of God.' He was in England till October 16, 1790, when he went out to the West Indies with two missionaries from Ireland. Whilst in New York on May 29, 1789, he and Asbury had signed an address of congratulation to General Washington on his appointment as President of the United States. It spoke of the ' civil and religious liberties which have been transmitted to us by the providence of God and the glorious Revolution,' and acknowledged God as ' the Source of every blessing, and particularly of the most excellent constitution of these States, which is at present the admiration of the world, and may in future become its great exemplar for imitation.' The Conference at Leeds in July expressed its unanimous opinion that as a subject of the English monarchy the Doctor had departed from propriety in signing the address, and that its praise of the Republican Constitution threw a sinister reflection on that of Great Britain and savoured of disloyalty to the Throne. His brethren knew, of course, that no man among them was more loyal to the Throne than Coke ; but they strongly resented the attitude he had taken.

Coke was now preaching all over the country, and soliciting help for the missionary work, of which he was the unwearying advocate. Wesley advises him to turn to Cornwall, where he had just had a wonderful tour of services, rather than to the North ; and suggests that before he came West to meet him at Bristol, Coke might give them a Sunday at West Street. Wesley's Diary shows that he dined several

times with Mr. Dobson,¹ who evidently took an active interest in the School at West Street, Seven Dials, for a hundred and forty poor children, which owed its origin to a servant of Wesley's who gave sixpence a week for a child's education. He preached its Charity Sermons on November 25, 1787.

The later reference is apparently to Thomas Dunn, who had become a preacher in 1788. He was appointed as third preacher at Scarborough in 1789 in succession to Alexander Kilham. Kilham had been 'outrageously' treated by the steward of the Duke of Leeds when he attempted to preach in the Town Street of Seamer. The tyrannical steward had discharged one of the Duke's workmen because he had become a Methodist, and brought several of the congregation at Seamer before the Magistrates. They were discharged without censure, and a constable who had refused to keep the peace was fined for his neglect of duty. Kilham wrote to the Duke, and there was no repetition of his steward's offences. In his obituary in 1802 Dunn is described as a steady, upright, good man. Coke had probably had something to do with Dunn's appointment in 1789.

This letter is in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Wilbert F. Howard, to whom it came through Mrs. Hall of Bristol, Mrs. J. M. Shum of Bath, and Mrs. G. F. White. It has been in his family since 1818.

BRISTOL, *September 5, 1789.*

DEAR SIR,—Upon serious reflection I doubt if it would not be more proper for you to go westward than northward. I surely believe it would be best for you to set out from London, so as to meet me here about Monday or Tuesday fortnight on your way to Cornwall. Then you may give Brother Dobson (to whom my love) a sermon at West Street for the poor children.¹

I wish you to obey 'the Powers that be' in America; but I wish you to understand them too. I firmly believe Brother Dunn will answer your expectation. The tyrants in that house sadly want one to overlook them; and he will do it both with wisdom and tenderness. The Society begins to lift up its head again. We had a remarkably good time.—I am, dear sir, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To the Printer of the 'Bristol Gazette'

This letter and those of September 25 and October 3 show Wesley's concern for the health of the nation. His experiment in London bears witness to the pains that the veteran took to make good his position;

¹ See letter of Feb. 21, 1786.

and the spirit in which the controversy was conducted in the *Bristol Gazette* reflects credit on all parties. Wesley's letters on October 12 and 31 to Adam Clarke show what importance the old evangelist attached to the correspondence. We owe the copies of the three letters to the good offices of the Rev. Charles Feneley.

BRISTOL, HORSEFAIR, September 7, 1789.

1. In the reign of King James I an Act of Parliament was made prohibiting the use of that poisonous herb called *hops*. It does not appear that this Act has ever been repealed. But in process of time it has been forgotten, and the *poisonous weed* introduced again. It has continued in use ever since; and that upon a general supposition, (1) that it was very wholesome, greatly promotive of health, and (2) that malt drink would not keep without it.

2. On these suppositions the use of it has not only continued, but much increased during the present century. 'I have lived in this town' (Whitechurch in Shropshire), said a gentleman to me sometime since, 'above forty years, and have all that time brewed much malt drink. I use just the same quantity of hops that I did forty years ago; but most of my neighbours use four times as much now as they did then.'

3. Nearly the same has been done in other counties, Yorkshire and Lincolnshire in particular. Forty years ago, I well remember, all the ale I tasted there had a soft, sweetish taste, such as the decoction of barley will always have if not adulterated by bitter herbs. So it had two or three thousand years ago, according to the account in Ovid, who, speaking of the manner wherein Baucis entertained Jupiter, says, *Bibendum Dulce dedit, tota quod coxerat ante polenta*¹; whereas all the ale in Yorkshire as well as in other counties is now quite harsh and bitter.

4. But may it not be asked 'whether this is not a change for the better, seeing hops are so exceeding wholesome a plant'? Are they so? Why, then, do physicians almost with one voice forbid their patients the use of malt drink, particularly all that are infected with the scurvy or any distemper related

¹ *Metamorphoses*, v. 450; of the her something sweet to drink which old woman and Ceres: 'She gave she had prepared from parched malt.'

to it? Do not they know there is not a more powerful anti-scorbutic in the world than wort—that is, unhopped decoction of malt? What a demonstration is this that it is the addition of hops which turns this excellent medicine into poison! And who does not know that *wort*, unhopped malt drink, is an excellent medicine both for the gout and stone? But will any physician in his senses recommend the common malt drink to one that is ill of or subject to those diseases? Why not? Because there is no drink that more directly tends to breed and increase both one and the other.

5. 'But whether hops are wholesome or no, are they not necessary to prevent malt drink from turning sour?' I never doubted of it for fourscore years. And there are very few that do doubt of it. It has passed for an incontestable truth ever since I was in the world. And yet it is as absolute palpable a falsehood as ever was palmed upon mankind. Any one may in a short time be convinced of this by his own senses. Make the experiment yourself. Brew any quantity of malt, add hops to one half of this, and none to the other half. Keep them in the same cellar three or six months, and the ale without hops will keep just as well as the other. I have made the experiment at London. One barrel had no hops, the other had. Both were brewed with the same malt, and exactly in the same manner. And after six months that without hops had kept just as well as the other. 'But what bitter did you infuse in the room of it?' No bitter at all. No bitter is necessary to preserve ale, any more than to preserve cider or wine. I look upon the matter of hops to be a mere humbug upon the good people of England; indeed, as eminent an one on the whole nation as 'the man's getting into a quart bottle' was on the people of London.

6. 'However, are they not necessary on another account—namely, to advance the public revenue? Does not the tax upon hops bring in two or three hundred-thousand pounds yearly into the Exchequer?' Perhaps it does. And yet it may be not an advantage but a loss to the nation. So it certainly is if it breeds and increases grievous and mortal diseases, and thereby destroys every year thousands of His Majesty's liege subjects. May not gold be bought too dear? Are not

one hundred thousand lives worth more than two hundred thousand pounds? Each of these men, had this poison been kept out of his reach, had he lived out all his days, would probably have paid more yearly in other taxes than he paid for leave to put himself out of the world.

Oh that someone had the honesty and courage to inform His Majesty of this! Would the most benevolent Prince in Europe desire or consent to barter the lives of his subjects for money? Nay, but in fact, it is selling them for nought, and taking no money for them; seeing it is evident, upon the whole of the account, that nothing at all is gained thereby. For it is certain more money is lost by shortening the lives of so many men (seeing the dead pay no taxes) than all the hop tax through the nation amounts to.

7. 'But do not many physicians, most of whom are now alive, and some of them of considerable note, affirm hops to be exceeding wholesome? and that both in their conversations and writings?' They certainly do; but who can imagine that they believe themselves when they talk so? If they did, would they deny, would they not prescribe malt drink to their gouty or scorbutic patients? But they do not; because they know, however good wort might be for them, add hops to it and it commences poison. Deny this who dare. With what face, then, can any man of character affirm them to be wholesome? But, whether they are necessary for raising money or no, certainly they are not necessary for preserving drink. This will keep for six or twelve months just as well without hops as with them.

8. Yet we must not suppose that any arguments whatever, which ever were or can be used, will have any weight in this case with the planters or sellers of hops or those that are connected with them. They have a ready answer to the strongest reasons that can be advanced on this head (although they may not always see it expedient to speak out): '*Sir, by this means we get our wealth.*' And is it not easy for them to procure ingenious men to plead for them when the *craft is in danger*? When, therefore, we make observations of this kind, all which can be expected is that a few sensible men, who are neither blinded by interests nor carried away by popular clamour, will

attend to the voice of reason, and be persuaded to save their money and preserve the health of their families.

To Mrs. Warwick

BATH, September 10, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I know not what to do or what to say. This untoward man so perplexes me? It is not my business to find houses for the preachers' wives. I do not take it upon me. I did not order him to come to Burslem. I only permitted what I could not help. I must leave our brethren to compromise these matters among themselves. They are too hard for me. A preacher is wanted in Gloucester circuit. One of them may go thither.—I am, with love to Brother Warwick,¹ my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

To the Methodist People

The case of Dewsbury is explained in the headings to letters of July 30 and August 23, 1788. Wesley now extended his appeal to the Methodist people in general.

BRISTOL, September 11, 1789.

1. When, about fifty years ago, one and another young man offered to serve me as sons in the gospel, it was on these terms,—that they would labour where I appointed; otherwise we should have stood in each other's way. Here began itinerant preaching with us. But we were not the first itinerant preachers in England. Twelve were appointed by Queen Elizabeth to travel continually, in order to spread true religion through the kingdom; and the office and salary still continue, though their work is little attended to. Mr. Milner, late Vicar of Chipping in Lancashire, was one of them.

2. As the number of preachers increased it grew more and more difficult to fix the places where each should labour from time to time. I have often wished to transfer this work of stationing the preachers once a year to one or more of themselves. But none were willing to accept of it. So I must bear the burthen till my warfare shall be accomplished.

¹ Someone has written across the letter, To Mrs. Warwick concerning Michael Moorhouse. See letter of July 7, 1786.

3. When preaching-houses were built, they were vested immediately in trustees, who were to see that those preached in them whom I sent, and none else ; this, we conceived, being the only way whereby itinerancy could be regularly established. But lately, after a new preaching-house had been built at Dewsbury in Yorkshire by the subscriptions and contributions of the people (the trustees alone not contributing one quarter of what it cost), they seized upon the house, and, though they had promised the contrary, positively refused to settle it on the Methodist plan, requiring that they should have a power of refusing any preacher whom they disliked. If so, I have no power of stationing the Dewsbury preachers ; for the trustees may object to whom they please. And themselves, not I, are finally to judge of those objections.¹

4. Observe, here is no dispute about the right of houses at all. I have no right to any preaching-house in England. What I claim is a right of stationing the preachers. This these trustees have robbed me of in the present instance. Therefore only one of these two ways can be taken : either to sue for this house, or to build another. We prefer the latter, being the most friendly way.

I beg, therefore, my brethren, for the love of God ; for the love of me, your old and wellnigh worn-out servant ; for the love of ancient Methodism, which, if itinerancy is interrupted, will speedily come to nothing ; for the love of justice, mercy, and truth, which are all so grievously violated by the detention of this house ; that you will set your shoulders to the necessary work. Be not straitened in your own bowels. We have never had such a cause before. Let not, then, unkind, unjust, fraudulent men have cause to rejoice in their bad labour. This is a common cause. Exert yourselves to the utmost. I have subscribed fifty pounds. So has Dr. Coke. The preachers have done all they could. O let them that have much give plenteously ! Perhaps this is the last labour of love I may have occasion to recommend to you. Let it, then, stand as one more monument of your real gratitude to, my dear brethren,

Your old, affectionate brother.

¹ See letters of Aug. 23 and Sept. 15, 1789 (to Henry Moore).

To Mrs. Armstrong

BRISTOL, September 15, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—The account you give of James M'Quigg is very remarkable.¹ The sending him to Athlone just at this time was a signal instance of Divine Providence; and his going to Moate, where we had so long laboured in vain, was in an acceptable time. Many of our friends were in dread to [hear] him! God honoured him. I pray He will honour him more as long as his eye is single, seeking his happiness in God alone.

You cannot tell, my dear Jenny, what good you may do by now and then speaking a word for God. Be not ashamed nor afraid to put in a word when occasion offers. Indeed, you are not called for any public work; but even in private conversation a word spoken in season how good it is! You need not be a drone; you will not want opportunities of doing good in various kinds. To hear of you or from you will always be a pleasure.—My dear Jenny, Yours very affectionately.

To Mrs. Jane Armstrong, Athlone.

To Henry Moore

George Paramore was the printer of Wesley's publications, and in his will was appointed Manager of the Conference printing-office. He was a native of Doncaster, and became a Methodist in Sheffield, where he was apprenticed to a printer. He was for thirty years a local preacher in London. He died on Christmas Day, 1812, aged fifty-seven. See Stevenson's *City Road Chapel*, p. 492.

BRISTOL, September 15, 1789.

DEAR HENRY,—I am glad you delayed the making of the collection for Dewsbury. I suppose you have now my second paper,² which should be printed and sent to every Assistant. Herewith I show them more plainly what my sentiments are than I have ever done.

Geo. Paramore writes to desire his brother and sister may succeed Brother and Sister Shropshire at Spitalfields. I have no objection. I refer that matter to you, who are upon the

¹ J. M'Quigg was one of the preachers at Limerick. Wesley preached at Moate near Athlone, on April 2, 1748, and calls it 'the pleasantest town I have yet seen in Ireland.'

² See letter of Sept. 11.

spot. All in our house are in great peace. We are a family of love. I love Sister Clarke, only not as much as my dear Nancy ; and am, dear Henry,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To his Nephew Samuel Wesley

Near BRISTOL, September 16, 1789.

MY DEAR SAMMY,—It gives me pleasure to hear that you have so much resolution that you go to bed at ten and rise at four o'clock. Let not the increase of cold affright you from your purposes. Bear your cross, and it will bear you. I advise you carefully to read over Kempis, the *Life* of Gregory Lopez and that of Mons. de Renty. They are all among my brother's books.—I am, dear Sammy,

Your affectionate Uncle and friend.

To Henry Moore

BATH, September 20, 1789.

DEAR HENRY,—Our friends in [Round] Court have determined to hurt Sally Brown if possible.¹ Just now they have contrived to turn Mr. Marriott² against her, who seemed inclined to help her effectually. You know a good deal of poor Betty Sharp's affairs. Concerning her I have referred him to you. So please [do] all you can.

Pray desire Sister Ferguson³ to direct the letter enclosed to her that was Miss Loten, and then put it into the post. On Monday, October 6, I purpose (God willing) to be at Sarum ; on the Saturday following, at or before noon, at Cobham. So if two or three of you meet me there, well.⁴—I am, with much love to Nancy, dear Henry,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Henry Moore

BRISTOL, September 22, 1789.

DEAR HENRY,—We will let Sally Brown's affair sleep till we meet. I am afraid that pain in your back portends a fever. If so, I hope Dr. Whitehead has seen you. In autumn especially

¹ See letter of May 6.

² William Marriott, the stock-broker, was one of Wesley's executors.

³ Wife of Wesley's host in Hol-

land. See letters of June 12 and July 20, 1783.

⁴ He got to Cobham at 10.30 on Oct. 8. See *Journal*, viii. 17d.

delays are dangerous. We had an epidemic deafness here. It seized me last night while I was preaching abroad at Jacob's Wells, and lasted almost eighteen hours.

To save postage I desire you to tell Mr. Rankin that I hope to be at Cobham¹ at or before noon on Saturday se'nnight, and that I am perfectly satisfied with his letter. The point of reading Prayers at the Chapels shall be fixed if I live to see London; the design of such was sufficiently explained at the Conference. Whether I shall go straight to Oxfordshire I have not yet determined.—I am, with kindest love to Nancy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To the Printer of the 'Bristol Gazette'

BRISTOL, September 25, 1789.

SIR,—I am obliged to your ingenious and candid correspondent for his late remarks. He justly observes that 'unfermented Malt drink is not fit for common beverage.' But it may be fermented without hops full as well as with them. The fermentation (to which I have no objection) is caused not by the hops but the yeast. I believe the other ingredients in porter correct the noxious quality of the hops, and make it very wholesome drink to those with whose constitution it agrees.

The last paragraph of this gentleman's letter I heartily subscribe to, and wish it were inserted in every public paper throughout the three kingdoms: 'If good malt liquor could be made without hops' (nay, it is made; as good as any in England), 'the saving in this respect would be such as would very well enable the brewer to pay an additional duty on his beer equal to five times the annual revenue arising from hops; and the hop grounds might be converted into excellent corn land.' This is a stroke indeed! And deserves to be well considered by all lovers of their country.²

To Jonathan Brown, Isle of Man

[October], 1789.

DEAR JONATHAN,—You send us welcome news of the prosperity of the work of God in the isle. A year ago,¹ I was

¹ See previous letter.

² See letter of Feb. 28.

³ See letters of Sept. 7 and Oct. 3.

afraid that our members would scarce ever again amount to four-and-twenty hundred : so they rise now above our hope. I trust now it will be your business throughly to 'purge the floor.' Purge out all the unworthy members, and strongly exhort the rest to 'go on to perfection.' Get as many as possible to meet in band.—I am, with love to your wife,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To John Mason

BRISTOL, October 1, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—If, as I am informed, Mr. Gregor is a lover of King George and the present Administration, I wish you would advise all our brethren that have votes to assist him in the ensuing election.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Mason, St. Austle's,
Cornwall.

*To the Printer of the 'Bristol Gazette'*¹

BRISTOL, October 3, 1789.

SIR,—I am much obliged to your last correspondent also for the candour with which he writes. 'Mr. Wesley,' he observes, 'had cautioned us against the use of hops on account of its poisonous quality. But the authority on which he grounds this is only an old obsolete Act of Parliament. He has not informed us of its mode of operation on the animal frame.'

'Tis very true. I leave that to the gentlemen of the Faculty, for many of whom I have an high respect. Meantime I declare my own judgement, grounded not only on the Act of Parliament, but first on my own experience with regard to the gravel or stone, and secondly on the opinion of all the physicians I have heard or read that spoke on the subject.

I do not apprehend that we need recur either to 'the Elements of Chemistry' or to the College of Physicians on the head. I urge a plain matter of fact—'that hops are pernicious.' I did not say to all (though perhaps they may more or less) but to those that are inclined to stone, gout, or scurvy. So I judge, because I feel it to myself if I drink it two or three

¹ See letters of Sept. 25 and Oct. 12 (to Adam Clarke).

days together; and because so I hear from many skilful physicians; and I read in their works.

I cannot but return thanks to both your correspondents for their manner of writing, worthy of gentlemen. As to the gentleman brewer of Bath that challenges me to engage him for five hundred pounds, I presume he had taken a draught of his well-hopped beverage, or he would not have been so valiant. So I wish him well; and am, sir, Your humble servant.

To Elizabeth Baker

SARUM, October 5, 1789.

MY DEAR BETSY,—Frequently I have been thinking of you and I thought it a long time since I heard from you.¹ This is always very agreeable to me, as I found much union with you ever since I saw you. I then took knowledge that you had been with Jesus and had drunk into His spirit.

Ne'er let your faith forsake its hold,
Nor hope decline, nor love grow cold,

both in the case of Robert Humphrey and that of the poor woman you mention. You will do well to [note] everything of this kind that came [within] your notice. The merciful Lord has so done His marvellous works that they ought to be had in remembrance. These instances should certainly quicken your zeal and increase your expectation of seeing good days at Monmouth.

When Dr. [Papar] came to see his friend Dr. Curtis, he found mortification on his instep, where was a black spot as large as a crown piece. The mortification was likewise begun under his knee, where was a circle . . . , and adjoining to it a circle as [red] as scarlet. He ordered me to rub this with a warm hand. . . . The parts were steeped half an hour with boiled camo[mile] After one with a warm hand rubbed a mixture. . . . This was [done] twice a day. In two or three days Dr. Curtis was [well].²

Pray send me your Receipt for the Hyaran. . . . behaviour to me from, my dear Betsy, Yours very affectionately.

I am going to London.

¹ See letters of Sept. 16, 1788, and, Oct. 29, 1789.

² Some part of the letter is missing, so that the sense is not clear.

To Charles Atmore

LONDON, October 12, 1789.

DEAR CHARLES,—It is a great blessing that God gives you and your fellow-labourers to act in full concert with each other. I hope you exhort all the believers to go on to perfection and that you take especial care of the Select Society. You do well to go on at N[orth] Shields, without taking the least notice of Edwd. Coates¹ or his society; only be loving and courteous to any of them when they come in your way. If you and your people have more of the life of God in yourselves than them, you infallibly will prevail. You should continually exhort them all to this. Only let us have the mind that was in Christ, and we shall want no manner of thing that is good.—I am, dear Charles, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Adam Clarke

The letters on Hops do not seem to have been printed in the *Evening Post* or the *Magazine*. See letters of October 3 and 31.

'My sight,' writes Wesley in the *Journal* on October 8, 'is so decayed that I cannot well read by candlelight, but I can write as well as ever. And my strength is much lessened, so that I cannot easily preach above twice a day; but I bless God my memory is not much decayed and my understanding is as clear as it has been these fifty years.'

LONDON, October 12, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I took away this by mistake, which I suppose to be the key of your bureau. I must desire you to send me a copy of those three letters on hops which I published in the *Bristol Gazette*. I intend to print them both in *Lloyd's Evening Post* and in the *Magazine*. I am rather better than worse since I came to London. So to-morrow I am to set out for Norfolk, from whence I hope to return hither in nine or ten days' time. Let us work while the day is!—I am, with much love to Sister Clarke, dear Adam,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Planche

Mary Smith, of Newcastle, was daughter of Jenny Smith, and granddaughter of Wesley's wife. John Stamp was admitted on trial in 1787.

¹ Atmore was Assistant in Newcastle; John Ogilvie was his colleague. Coates had separated from Wesley. See letter of April 29 to him.

He was now travelling in Sunderland. They were married in 1790, and she died in 1794, when her third daughter was born. See *Journal*, vi. 27; Stamp's *Orphan House*, pp. 119-20; and letter of November 20 to Mary Smith.

NORWICH, October 16, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I am glad to God that you are going to lift up the hands of the poor little company at . . . for now is the time to stir up the gift of God that is in you. You will have good work to do, but you must expect to suffer as well as to do the will of God. But be not weary of well-doing; in due time you shall reap if you faint not.

Jenny Smith's letter breathes an admirable spirit; she seems to busy by . . . to and desirous . . . to make her calling and election sure.

But what is the matter with Mr. Smith? He came to me at Leeds, and seemed to have little or no objection to the connexion between Molly and Mr. Stamp, only he thought she was young enough, and that it would be better for them both not to be in haste. How is it, then, that his mind is so altered? I hope it is not because some child of the devil offers who has much money and little grace, and so puts the poor child of God out of countenance. You will now undoubtedly have an opportunity of dropping a word to some of your young relatives and putting them in mind that there is another world.—
My dear sister, Your very affectionate brother.

Addressed to Miss Bolton,
In Witney, Oxfordshire.

To Laurence Frost

Mount Pleasant Chapel, Liverpool, was just about to be built. The description of 'The Conference of the People called Methodists' as approved by Wesley and the Conference was given in the *Minutes* for 1788. See letter of July 29, 1786.

LONDON, October 23, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You are a bold people! Two hundred pounds purchase money besides nine hundred pounds! But I do not use to damp any good design. Go on in the name of God. It is true your deed is clumsy enough. I am surprised that no Methodist will take my advice. I have more *experience* in these things than any attorney in the land. And

have I not the Methodist interest as much at heart? Oh, why will you alter the beautiful deed we have already? why will you employ any attorney at all? Only to seek a knot in a bulrush; only to puzzle the cause. Well, comfort yourselves. You will not long be troubled with

Your affectionate brother.

To John Grace

John Grace, the Assistant at Londonderry, was a very able preacher, known as 'the Walking Bible'; he died in 1811.

William Smith was admitted on trial in 1789, and appears in *Minutes* for 1790 as second preacher at Londonderry; he died in 1839.

LONDON, October 25, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I was in hope brother Smith would be of use in Londonderry; for the power of God accompanies his word, and He sends by whom He will send without asking counsel of man.

You do well to be exact in morning preaching: that is the glory of the Methodists. Whenever the morning preaching is given up the glory is departed from us.

If Strabane receives the gospel, we may certainly say there is nothing too hard for God; and nothing will be too hard for you if you lean upon His strength and go on hand in hand, desiring only to do and suffer His holy and acceptable will.

Peace be with all your spirits!—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To William Green

Wesley had preached in Norwich in October on 1 Samuel ii. 17. William Green, the fourth preacher, wrote him some strictures upon it which were in bad taste and marked by bitter enmity against the Church. Wesley regarded him as 'a dangerous man,' and was not sorry when he 'took himself away.' See *Journal*, viii. 18-19d; and letters of December 5, 1772, and January 6, 1790.

October 25, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You abound in leisure; I abound in work: it is not for me, therefore, to follow you step by step through a voluminous performance. I shall only put down a few thoughts as they occur; and may God apply them to your heart!

To begin with the spirit and manner of your whole performance. I doubt it is far from right ! I would not commend it if you were writing to one greatly your inferior both in years and station ; what can excuse it, then, if you are the inferior in age and other respects ?

The question is : whether we ought still to attend the ministrations of wicked ministers. Observe, I do not defend or justify them at all, as I said not a word in defence of Hophni and Phineas. You say : No, because God forbids us so to do. That I flatly deny. It is your grand mistake, on which the rest depends.

‘ But does not God say over and over, Hearken not, hearken not unto them ? ’ Yes ; but this does not mean refrain from the ministrations even of base, lying prophets, but merely this : Hearken not to their lies ; hear them not—that is, regard them not when they speak what God hath not spoken. All the texts you heap together (and you may transcribe fifty more) mean neither more or less than this ! Accordingly both the true prophets and all the Israelites did, in fact, attend their ministry still !

‘ But did not our Lord warn His disciples to beware of the leaven, that is false doctrine, of the Scribes and the Pharisees.’ Yes, of their *false doctrine* ; but not to refrain from their ministrations. This neither He nor the Apostles did ; they all constantly attended the Temple service as well as that of the synagogue. Yet, that God did not send the false prophets to prophesy *lies* is certain ; but He did send them to minister before him ! It is certain also that the word which they prophesied falsely did not profit the people ; yet it did when they spoke or read the truth. To say wicked ministers never profit the people is to say that all the Israelites from Samuel to Christ went to hell !

‘ But wicked ministers do much hurt ! ’ True ; but it does not follow that they do no good ! Nay, most ministers preach that error which destroys more souls than anything besides—namely, Phariseism and Salvation by Works ! What is practical Pharisaism ? The tithing Mint, Anise, and Cummin, and neglecting justice and mercy. This was the practice of the Pharisees in general ; though there were a few exceptions.

But who dare affirm that all or three-fourths of our clergy bear this character? Nor can you say that all or one half of the English clergy preach this Pharisaism!

‘No; but they teach men to seek salvation by works, and does not this destroy almost all mankind?’ I answer, No: perhaps not one in ten in England, if it destroy one in an hundred: nevertheless nine-tenths of men in England have no more religion than horses, and perish through total contempt of it. Myriads more perish through drunkenness, lewdness, Sabbath-breaking, cursing and swearing, and other outward sins; thousands are destroyed by sins of omission. And when all these are deducted, the remainder supposed to seek salvation by works cannot be more than one in ten.

‘But what does this expression mean?’ Just this, they hope to be saved by keeping the commandments of God. This is certainly an error, but I do not say it is the most damnable error in the world! Nay, I doubt if it ever damned any one man. Take me right; I doubt if any man who sincerely strives to obey God will die before God shows him the true way of salvation!

Upon the whole, what I have said these fifty years, and say now, is: first, attend the ministers Providence has allotted you, and do what they say according to scripture; but hearken not to what they say contrary to it. Secondly, God does now do good by them to the simple in heart, even by their preaching; but more in the Prayers and Lord’s Supper. Thirdly, Messrs. Maxfield, Richards, Westall, and all my other helpers joined me in these conditions. Therefore, to renounce going to Church is, in fact, to renounce connexion with me. To conclude, I defy any man living to prove that I have contradicted myself at all in any of the writings which I have published from the year 1738 to the year 1788.—I am
Your affectionate brother.

To Richard Rodda

This letter shows how zealously Wesley exerted himself for an old friend. Rodda was now Assistant in Manchester, with Christopher Hopper, Samuel Bradburn, and William Hunter, jun., as his colleagues. Wesley preached on January 31, 1745, near the roadside at Coleford, twenty miles from Bristol, as the house could not contain a tenth part

of the congregation. In 1754 he calls it 'our other Kingswood, where also the lions are become lambs.' A Mr. Salmon was a member of the Holy Club at Oxford, and other Salmons are mentioned in the *Journal*, vi. 227 n.

WALLINGFORD, October 26, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You are a man whom I can trust : whatever you do you will do it with your might. Some years since, we wanted a preaching-room at Coleford in Somersetshire. A neighbouring gentleman, Mr. Salmon, gave us ground to build on and timber for the house, and desired me to use *his* house as my own. He is now by wicked men reduced to want. I am informed a master for a poorhouse is wanted at Manchester. Pray inquire ; and if it be so, leave no means untried to procure the place for him. Apply in my name to Brother Barlow, Byerly, D. Yates, T. Phillips, Dr. Easton, Mr. Brocklehurst, Stonehouse, and all that have a regard for me. Make all the interest you can. Leave no stone unturned. 'Join hands with God to make a good man live.' I hope you will send me word in London that you have exerted yourself and not without a prospect of success.—I am, dear Richard,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Rodda, At the Preaching-house,
In Manchester.

To John Mason

NEAR OXFORD, October 27, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Wherever the congregation increases we have reason to hope the work of God will increase also.¹ And it is certain distress is one means whereby God awakens men out of sleep. You know famine is one of God's sore judgments, and the people should be strongly encouraged to improve by it. Suffer no leader to whisper in his class, but to speak so that all who are present may hear ; otherwise how shall

Each his friendly aid afford
And feel his brother's care ?

Speak strong and home to all.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

¹ Mason was Assistant at St. Austell.

To Thomas Taylor

Taylor published at Hull in 1789 *Ten Sermons on the Millennium, and five on what will follow* (353 pp., 12 mo). His sight had suffered through the compiling of his *Concordance*, and he had been obliged 'to submit to spectacles.' John Poole, who became an itinerant in 1759, was now at Tiverton; but his infirmities led him about this time to retire to Redruth, where he died in 1801. He probably pitied Taylor more than himself. See letter of May 14, 1782.

WITNEY, October 28, 1789.

DEAR TOMMY,—If I remember right, all our brethren at the Conference as well as myself approved of the proposals concerning the first and second editions of your tract. So I see no difficulty in the matter. I do not think any one envies you—no, not John Poole himself. But you must write with better ink if you would have any one read. Peace be with you and yours!—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

Let you and I use our eyes while we may.

To Elizabeth Baker

NEAR OXFORD, October 29, 1789.

MY DEAR BETSY,—You cannot easily conceive how great satisfaction I received from your affectionate letter.¹ I am glad you write without reserve and take knowledge that your words come from your heart. What is that sympathy that often unites our hearts to each other? Perhaps the first interview. Surely it is not intended that this should cease till it is perfected in eternity.

I am pleased to hear that the work of God does not decline but rather increase in Monmouth. My dear friend, stir up the gift of God that is in you. Warn every one, exhort every one! Be not weary of well-doing! In due time you shall reap if you faint not.

Still let thy mind be bent, still plotting how
And when and where the business may be done.

Have you ever received a clear, direct witness that you was saved from inbred sin? At what time? In what manner? And do you find it as clear as it was at first? Do you feel

¹ See letter of Oct. 5.

an increase? Then, I trust, your love will not lessen for, my dear Betsy,
Yours most affectionately.

To Adam Clarke

LONDON, October 31, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I have little more to say on the subject of hops.¹ Only I still insist upon two things: first, that they are hurtful to such and such persons; secondly, that they are not necessary to keep malt drink from turning sour. Let them beat me off this ground that can.

Even irregular, ill-conducted prayer-meetings have been productive of much good. But they will be productive of much more while they are kept under proper regulations.

You have reason to praise God for restoring your little one. If so, it will be time for Sister Clarke and you to break his spirit. Peace be with your spirits!—I am, dear Adam,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. —

The letter to which Wesley refers was dated 'West Jersey, September 20, 1783,' and indicates the difficulties caused by the extension of the work which led him to ordain Coke as Superintendent and Whatcoat and Vasey as elders in September, 1784. 'No person,' Asbury writes, 'can manage the lay preachers here so well, it is thought, as one that has been at the raising of most of them. No man can make a proper change upon paper, to send one here and another [there], without knowing the circuits and the gifts of all the preachers, unless he is always out among them. My dear sir, a matter of the greatest consequence now lies before you. If you send preachers to America, let them be proper persons. We are now united; all things go on well, considering the storms and difficulties we have had to ride through. I wish men of the greatest understanding would write impartial accounts; for it would be better for us not to have preachers than to be divided. This I know, great men that can do good may do hurt if they should take the wrong road. I have laboured and suffered much to keep the people and preachers together; and if I am thought worthy to keep my place, I should be willing to labour and suffer till death for peace and union.' Asbury wrote again on March 20, 1784: 'You know, sir, it is not easy to rule; nor am I pleased with it: I bear it as my cross, yet it seems that a necessity is laid upon me.' Dr. Coke wrote to Wesley on August 9, 1784, about the ordinations for America: 'Mr. Brackenbury informed me at Leeds that he saw a letter in London from Mr. Asbury, in which

¹ See letter of Oct. 12.

he observed that he would not receive any person deputed by you with part of the superintendency of the work invested in him, or words which evidently implied so much.' The letters show that Asbury had not been altogether easy to deal with. See John Atkinson's *Centennial History of American Methodism*, pp. 60, 72-3; and letter of September 20, 1788, to Asbury.

LONDON, October 31, 1789.

I was a little surprised when I received some letters from Mr. Asbury affirming that no person in Europe knew how to direct those in America. Soon after he flatly refused to receive Mr. Whatcoat in the character I sent him. He told George Shadford, 'Mr. Wesley and I are like Cæsar and Pompey: he will bear no equal, and I will bear no superior.' And accordingly he quietly sat by until his friends voted my name out of the American *Minutes*. This completed the matter and showed that he had no connexion with me.

To Mrs. Cock

HINXWORTH, November 3, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—When I heard Mr. Brackenbury give the first account of you, I had a great desire of having some conversation with you, and a much greater when I read the account of your experience which you had given him. How is it with you now, my dear friend? Is your soul now as much alive as ever? Do you still find deep and uninterrupted communion with God, with the Three-One God, with the Father and the Son through the Spirit? Do not you find anything deaden or flatten your soul? Do you now rejoice evermore? Do you pray without ceasing? Are you always conscious of the loving presence of God? Do you in everything give thanks, knowing it is the will of God concerning you in Christ Jesus?

Are you now as zealous of good works and as active therein as ever you was? And do you now live in eternity and walk in eternity, and experience the life that is hid with Christ in God? Have you one or more children? With whom do you now maintain the most intimate acquaintance? Do you sometimes visit our friends in Guernsey? Are there any books which you have a mind to have? Or is there anything else in which I can serve you? This would at all times be a pleasure to

Yours very affectionately.

To George Baldwin

LONDON, November 5, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad to hear that you are

True yokefellows by love compelled
To labour on the gospel field.¹

Verily your labour shall not be in vain. Go in the name of the Lord and in the power of His might. Be instant in season, out of season, above all things exhort the believers to go on to perfection! When this is neglected the whole work of God will languish. So it will without visiting from house to house.²
—I am, dear George, Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Pawson

LONDON, November 16, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—My health is rather increasing than decreased. I can preach once a day without any inconvenience, and sometimes twice³; only not early in the morning. But I purpose soon to make another trial. I am glad the Select Society is restored at Birstall. This is an excellent means of recommending Christian perfection. Therefore men and devils will in every place use every art to dissolve those societies. Mr. Pawson will be useful wherever he goes; so I trust will you likewise, particularly to those that either already enjoy or are earnestly seeking perfect love.⁴ You do well strongly to insist that those who do already enjoy it cannot possibly stand still. Unless they continue to watch and pray and aspire after higher degrees of holiness, I cannot conceive not only how they can go forward but how they can keep what they have already received. Certainly, therefore, this is a point much to be insisted on, both [in] public and private, that all who have tasted of the pure [love] of God should continually grow in grace, in the image of God, and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ.—I am, my dear sister, Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Pawson, In Birstall,
Near Leeds.

¹ *Postical Works*, v. 410.² See *Journal*, viii. 17.³ Baldwin was in the Gloucestershire Circuit. He died in 1810.⁴ See a reference to her in letter of Nov. 26 to Adam Clarke.

To Richard Rodda

LAMBETH, November 20, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I hope Sammy Bradburn's illness will be a lasting blessing to him, and perhaps as long as he lives. I did not mean to give Billy Hunter the five pounds as a dismission. If his strength returned, he might in a few months return to his work ; but I doubt whether it will return or not,¹ whether he will ever be fit for a travelling preacher. You have done exactly right in the business of Dewsbury, which will be a warning to us for ever. So and may when business of the same kind. While I live no steps shall be taken toward the building any preaching-house till the trustees have given bond to settle it on our plan as soon as they are indemnified.² Peace be with you and yours.—I am, dear Richard,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Rodda, At the Preaching-house,
In Manchester.

To Mary Smith

The reference to his parents in this letter is an old man's happy memory of filial piety in days long past.

NEAR LONDON, November 20, 1789.

Your affectionate letter, my dear Molly, gave me much satisfaction. I am glad to find that the power of God is shown in your weakness, and enables you in the trying hour to possess your soul in patience. I have [never] yet known sincere obedience to parents go unrewarded even in the present world.³ And I accept the remarkable length of my own life and the uncommon health I have enjoyed as a reward of my saving my father from prison and comforting my mother in her declining years. Go on, my dear maiden, you and my precious Janey, to be the support and joy of their age ; chiefly by your eminent growth in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ. He has given you both to taste a little of His loving-

¹ William Hunter, jun., was Rodda's younger colleague.

² See letter in Jan. 1791 to him.

³ See letter of Oct. 16 about John Stamp.

kindness, which is better than the life itself. And I am persuaded each of you can say,

Wealth, honour, pleasure, and what else
This short-enduring life can give,
Tempt as ye will, my soul repels,
To Christ alone resolved to live.

To His tender care I commend you with all the family ;
and am, my dear Molly, Affectionately yours.

To Miss Smith, At Mr. Smith's,
Corn-merchant's, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

To William Black

There had been some misunderstanding between the preachers ; but Black wrote to Wesley on June 22 : ' The two brothers, J. and J. M.' (John and James Mann), ' came to see and talk with Brother Wray. All was love and harmony, and I trust nothing but peace is now found amongst us.' See Richey's *Memoir*, p. 250 ; and letter of March 19, 1788, to Black.

LONDON, November 21, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Your letter has given me great satisfaction. My fears are vanished away. I am persuaded Brother Wray, Stretton, and you will go on hand in hand, and that each of you will take an equal share in the common labour. I do so myself. I labour now just as I did twenty or forty years ago. By all means proceed by common consent, and think not of *separating* from the Church of England. I am more and more confirmed in the judgement which our whole Conference passed on that head in the year 1758.—I am, my dear brother,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Samuel Bardsley

Bardsley was alone at Bideford ; and Michael Fenwick, who was at Hexham without an appointment, was sent to help him. He seems to have known Colonel Buck, ' the reigning Mayor,' and on December 25 saw Lord Fortescue about the rioters. See Tyerman's *Wesley*, iii. 592-3 ; and letters of July 21, 1789, and March 27, 1790, to Bardsley.

NORTHAMPTON, November 25, 1789.

DEAR SAMMY,—Yours of the 21st instant was sent to me hither. You have done exceedingly well to take the upper

room. If need be, we will help you out. Let us have no law if it be possible to avoid it : that is the last and the worst remedy. Try every other remedy first. It is a good providence that the Mayor at Bideford is a friendly man. Prayer will avail much in all cases. Encourage our poor people to be instant in prayer. Take care of poor Michael ; and do not forget, dear Sammy, Your affectionate brother.

To Hannah Ball

In 1766 Miss Ball began her diary at the time when she was 'in great exercise of mind from solicitations and inducements to change my condition in life ; but the dispensations of Providence ran across my expectations, and the event has fully evinced that the sacrifice I was then enabled to make has been recompensed by a hundredfold reward in this life. After three months' close exercise I was brought by divine assistance to resignation's shrine with, " Father, Thy will be done ! " ' On September 27, 1789, she notes in her diary : ' Since I wrote last for the most part of my time I have been wading in deep waters of affliction ; but in and through all I felt my anchor was cast within the veil. . . . I am at present considerably refreshed by a small alleviation of my bodily complaint. She died on August 16, 1792. See *Memoir*, pp. 9, 172-3.

LONDON, November 26, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I was glad to receive one more line from you—perhaps the last that I shall receive. It is now many years since I gave you advice, which God enabled you to take and to break off your connexion with an ungodly man—a very uncommon instance of resolution. You have had many trials of various kinds since then ; but the Lord has delivered you out of all, and He has honoured you by making you the instrument of much good for many years successively. He has given you to be of use to many unawakened and many believing souls. He now honours you by making you a partaker of His sufferings : so much the more shall you be conformed to His death and know the power of His resurrection. You are well-nigh worn out in a good cause ; yet a little longer, and pain is no more. Look up, my dear friend. The prize is before us : we are on the point of meeting to part no more. In time and eternity you will be united with

Your ever affectionate brother.

To Adam Clarke

LONDON, November 26, 1789.

DEAR ADAM,—The account you send me of the continuance of the great work of God in Jersey gives me great satisfaction.¹ To retain the grace of God is much more than to gain it. Hardly one in three does this. And this should be strongly and explicitly urged upon those who have tasted of perfect love. If we can prove that any of our leaders or local preachers either directly or indirectly speak against it, let him be a leader or a preacher no longer. I doubt whether he should continue in the Society; because he that could speak thus in our congregations cannot be an honest man.

I wish Sister Clarke would do all that she may, but not more than she can. Betsy Ritchie, Miss Johnson,² and M. Clarke are women after my own heart. Last week I had an excellent letter from Mrs. Pawson (a glorious witness of full salvation³), showing how impossible it is to retain pure love without growing therein. Wishing every blessing to you and all the family.—I am, dear Adam,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Jeremiah Brettell

LONDON, November 27, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad you have done something for poor Dewsbury⁴; and when you do what you can you do enough. It is no wonder that Tommy Cooper should be sensible of so great a loss. But 'tis possible Harriet Lewis of Dudley might make it up.⁵ She is a young woman of excellent spirit. She has seen affliction, and has fairly profited by it. If my life should be prolonged till spring, it will be no small satisfaction to me to see my dear Sister Brettell once more. Peace be with your spirits! —I am, dear Jerry,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

¹ Clarke had evidently heard good news from the Channel Islands. Miss Johnson was one of the Bristol saints.

² See letter of Nov. 16.

³ See letter of Aug. 23.

⁴ Thomas Cooper was Brettell's colleague at Wolverhampton. See letter of March 29, 1788, to Harriet Lewis.

To George Holder

NEAR LONDON, November 29, 1789.

DEAR GEORGE,—You did well to remember the case of Dewsbury House and to send what you could to Mr. Mather.¹ I exceedingly disapprove of your publishing anything in the Manx language. On the contrary, we should do everything in our power to abolish it from the earth, and persuade every member of our Society to learn and talk English. This would be much hindered by providing them with hymns in their own language. Therefore gently and quietly let that proposal drop. I hope you and your fellow labourers are of one heart. Peace be with your spirits!—I am, dear George,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Thomas Stedman

Thomas Stedman, who was at Cheverel, near Devizes, in 1774, removed to Shrewsbury in 1783, where he was Vicar of St. Chad's for forty-two years. He died on December 5, 1825, at the age of eighty. See *Methodist Magazine*, 1826, p. 69; and letters of March 10 and August 13, 1774.

December 1789.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,—I will desire a friend to look over my letters in a day or two, and see if any [are] from Dr. Doddridge. I know one or two of these are printed in my *Journal*, the originals of which are burnt. Possibly two or three more may remain. If they are to be found, you [they] shall be at your service.

How one generation goes and another comes! My grandmother Annesley lived forty years with her husband, who never was seen to smile after her death, though he lived six or seven years.²—I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate brother and servant.

To the Revd. Mr. Stedman, In Salop.

To Sarah Rutter

LONDON, December 5, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I am glad that the little Society at St. Neots continues in peace and love.³ I would gladly visit yours

¹ See letter of Aug. 23. Alexander Mather was the Assistant at Wakefield.

² See letter of Aug. 13, 1774.

³ See letters of July 29, 1789, and July 27, 1790.

and every Society within an hundred miles of London once a year ; but I am now constrained to give it up. They multiply too fast. So that there are several of them now which I can see only once in two years. I am much pleased with the account you give of yourself likewise. It seems God has dealt very graciously with you ; and undoubtedly He is able and willing to supply all your wants. Gradual sanctification may increase from the time you was justified ; but full deliverance from sin, I believe, is always instantaneous—at least, I never yet knew an exception. Peace be with your spirits !—I am, my dear Sally,

Yours very affectionately.

To Sarah Mallet

Thomas Tattershall was the Assistant at Yarmouth. Miss Mallet worked chiefly in Norfolk and Suffolk. After the Note Wesley gave her in 1787, she says, ' I have been but little opposed by preachers.' See letters of August 3, 1789, and July 31, 1790, to her.

CANTERBURY, December 15, 1789.

MY DEAR SALLY,—It gives me pleasure to hear that prejudice dies away and our preachers behave in a friendly manner. What is now more wanting in order to recover your health you yourself plainly see. Be not at every one's call. This you may quite cut off by going nowhere without the advice of Mr. Tattershall. Never continue the service above an hour at once, singing, *preaching*, prayer, and all. You are not to judge by your own *feelings*, but by the word of God. Never scream. Never speak above the natural pitch of your voice ; it is disgusting to the hearers. It gives them pain, not pleasure. And it is destroying yourself. It is offering God murder for sacrifice. Only follow these three advices, and you will have a larger share in the regard of, my dear Sally,

Yours affectionately.

To Ann Bolton

LONDON, December 20, 1789.

MY DEAR NANCY,—I rejoice to hear that you still stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free, and it is certain you never need lose anything which God has wrought till you attain the full reward. You already find the fruit of

patient suffering in being a partaker of His holiness. Go on in His name and power of His might till He says, 'Come up hither.'

You send me a pleasing account of my dear Miss Leake, who I hope will run and not tire. It is true

A thousand snares her paths beset;

but she has a strong Helper, and also that uncommon blessing, an experienced and faithful friend. The very first time I saw him after my return from Witney I spoke to Mr. Whitfield of her books; I am surprised ¹ he has not sent them yet, and will immediately refresh his memory.

Permit me, my dear friend, to caution you yet again. Be not too zealous in business, run no hazards. It is far easier to get into difficulties than to get out of them. Wishing you and our dear friend Miss Leake a continual growth in grace, my dear Nancy,

Yours most affectionately.

To Thomas Rutherford

Miss Newland was born in Dublin in 1757, joined the Methodists in 1770, and spent her strength in visiting the sick at home and in hospital. She was a zealous class leader. 'Her strength, her body, her soul, were all devoted to that one point, of going about doing good to her fellow-creatures. She was always serious and solemn, and uninterruptedly enjoyed perfect love.' For *A short Account of the Life and Death of Jane Newland, of Dublin, who departed this life, October 22, 1789*, see Green's *Bibliography*, No. 408.

LONDON, December 24, 1789.

DEAR TOMMY,—I thank you for your account of Jane Newland, which I trust will be of use to many. A short extract from it I shall probably send you in a day or two. A larger will be inserted in the *Magazine*. There is no great probability that her brother will be so foolish as to print anything on the occasion.—I am, with love to Sister Rutherford, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To John Dickens

LONDON, December 26, 1789.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Our own insufficiency for every good work would discourage us, were we not convinced both by

¹ His Book Steward forgot sometimes. See letter of Dec. 13, 1790.

Scripture and experience that all our sufficiency is of God. Therefore no doubt but He will supply seed to the sower and bread to the eater, and a blessing therewith.

Brother Joliffe might have had all his urgent business done just as without as though he were with us. We will make everything as comfortable as we can. But it is a doubt whether any good will be done at last. I am glad Betsey Harvey¹ continues with you; she may forget *me*, but I do not forget *her*. I thank you for the Magazine.

What I nightly wish is that you may all keep close to the Bible. Be not wise above what is written. Enjoin nothing that the Bible does not clearly enjoin. Forbid nothing that it does not clearly forbid. It no more forbids me to call you Mr. than to call you John, and it no more enjoins me to wear a slouch'd hat than a bishop's bonnet.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To the Rev. John Dickins,
Philadelphia, Pa.

¹ See heading to letter of April 23, 1764, to Mrs. Woodhouse.

THE CLOSE OF A GREAT CORRESPONDENCE

JANUARY 2, 1790, TO FEBRUARY 24, 1791

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

1790. The Life of Mr. Silas Told (*Written by Himself*) published; *Preface* dated Nov. 13, 1789.
 His revised Translation of the New Testament published; and Hymns for Children, selected from his brother's Hymns for Children; *Preface* dated March 27, 1790.
- July 27. Wesley's last Conference, in Bristol.
July. Letter to William Wilberforce.
Oct. 6. Last open-air sermon, at Winchelsea.
Oct. 11. Crabb Robinson hears Wesley at Colchester.
Oct. 15. Crabbe hears him at Lowestoft.
Oct. 24. Last entry in Wesley's Journal.
- 1791, Feb. 1. Wesley's last letter to America.
Feb. 32. Last sermon, at Leatherhead; and last entry in his Diary.
Feb. 24. Last letter, to Wilberforce.
Feb. 25. Returns to City Road.
Mar. 2. Dies at City Road at 10 a.m.
Mar. 9. Buried at City Road.

In this section of Wesley's long and wonderful correspondence we realize that the end is drawing steadily nearer every day. He says on February 13, 1790 : ' My sight is so far decayed that I cannot well read a small print by candlelight ; but I can write almost as well as ever I could : and it does me no harm but rather good to preach once or twice a day.' He is stronger on the whole than in the previous autumn, and issues a plan of his journeys for March, April, and May, 1790, which ranges from Stroud to Aberdeen. A year later he does not venture to make elaborate arrangements, and the few appointments he mentions Death prevented him fulfilling. Yet the old fires burned brightly in the veteran's soul. He is as zealous as ever for the spiritual life of his correspondents and especially solicitous for his brother's children. His letters to the Bishop of Lincoln and the one in July 1790 to William Wilberforce show how vigilantly he watches over the rights of worship for the Methodists. He inspires his preachers with his own spirit : ' You have only to go on calmly and steadily, and God will arise and maintain His own cause.' Adam Clarke, Henry Moore, and others received loving encouragement from their father in the Gospel. The events of the time were keenly followed. He is deeply distressed at the prevalence of suicide. He expresses warm approval to the ' blessed work' being done by Sunday Schools. And his last word is a trumpet call to Wilberforce to go on with his ' glorious enterprise in opposing that execrable villany which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature.'

THE CLOSE OF A GREAT CORRESPONDENCE

JANUARY 2, 1790, TO FEBRUARY 24, 1791

To Edward Jackson

LONDON, January 2, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It is no wonder many of the Societies should be in poor condition, considering what poor care has lately been taken of them. They will soon find the difference.

The books that are damaged you may give away as you judge proper.

None ought to have made a collection for any place before the house at Dewsbury was built. However, do what you can, and you do enough.—I am, with love to Sister Jackson,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Thomas Tattershall

NEAR LONDON, January 6, 1790.

DEAR TOMMY,—Because you desire some word I write, although I have no tidings ready. I know of no preacher that is *now* ready to go out ; and you know we can neither *buy* nor *hire* preachers. Yet I am not sorry that your *small friend*¹ has taken himself away ; for he was really a dangerous man. His bitter enmity against the Church made him utterly unfit to be a Methodist preacher ; and his elaborate Discourse against Going to Church was enough to confound any one that was not used to controversy. Yet I did not dare to *put him away* ; but I am not at all sorry that he is gone away. I shall not be forward to take him again ; but in any other way I would be glad to help him. I would not scruple giving him a few pounds if it would do him any good.—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Tattershall, At the Preaching-house,
Norwich.

¹ William Green, his colleague. See letter of Oct. 25, 1789, to him.

To Thomas McGeary

Thomas McGeary, M.A., was Head Master of Kingswood School from 1783 to 1794, when he opened a school at Keynsham, Bristol. William Carr was a master from 1789 to 1790.

LONDON, January 9, 1790.

DEAR TOMMY,—There is no danger of my thinking your writing troublesome. If Mr. [Funnal] thinks he did wrong in going away, and that it is a favour to receive him again, you may receive him; but he seems to me to be out of his senses. Mr. Carr has not wrote to me at all. I hope *he* (at least) knows when he is well. Such another place for him can hardly be found.

You must be absent from the School at some times, that you may be present more effectually. But I desire you will take a little tour next month if the weather will allow. The spending a week or two now and then in the open air is the best physic in the world for you. Perfect love *οὐκ ἀσχημονεῖ*, is not ill-behaved or ill-natured. Peace be with all your spirits!—I am, dear Tommy, Yours most affectionately.

Mr. Bradily, a pious young man from Antigua, earnestly desires to be a boarder at Kingswood. I do not object.

To John Mason

NEAR LONDON, January 13, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—As long as I live the people shall have no share in choosing either stewards or leaders among the Methodists. We have not and never had any such custom. We are no republicans, and never intend to be. It would be better for those that are so minded to go quietly away. I have been uniform both in doctrine and discipline for above these fifty years; and it is a little too late for me to turn into a new path now I am grey-headed. Neither good old Brother Pascoe¹ (God bless him!) expects it from me, nor Brother Wood,² nor Brother Flamank.³ If you and I should be called hence this

¹ Probably the grocer at St. John's, Cornwall, who entertained the preacher there. His brother's wife was the mother of Methodism in Sithney. See *Journal*, iii. 261*n*;

Methodist Mag., 1801, p. 483.

² Richard Wood, of Port Isaac. See *Journal*, v. 283.

³ See letter of June 9, 1789.

year, we may bless God that we have not lived in vain. Come, let us have a few more strokes at Satan's kingdom, and then we shall depart in peace!—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Daniel Jackson

NEAR LONDON, January 19, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You send me an agreeable account of the work of God in Stockport. Many were afraid that it would have been greatly hindered by Thomas Smith in particular. But it is plain they feared where no fear was; for our Lord took care of His own work.

I am glad Tommy Farrant¹ continues to exert himself. The more he does the more he may; for to him that hath (even what he hath) shall be given, and he shall have more abundantly.—I am, with love to Sister Jackson,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Thomas Rutherford

LONDON, January 22, 1790.

DEAR TOMMY,—You do well to exclude all that will not regularly meet their class.

I am glad you were so unanimous at the Yearly Meeting and that Brother [Erckbarn] made that excellent proposal. The sooner it is carried into execution the better.

Dr. Coke hopes to visit you in summer. He is in an excellent spirit. But he must take Scotland in the way to Ireland. You send me good news indeed concerning Sister Cox.² See the work of the Lord. She should immediately meet in a lively band. And our friends will take care that she does not want. My kind love to her and to Sister Rutherford.—I am, dear Tommy, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Adam Clarke

This letter gives a most interesting view of Wesley's mode of dealing with debt. Compare letter of August 15.

¹ Probably Thomas Tennant, Jackson's colleague.

² See letter of July 31, 1785.

LONDON, January 28, 1790.

DEAR ADAM,—I often wonder at the people of Bristol. They are so honest, yet so dull ; 'tis scarce possible to strike any fire into them. Only with God all things are possible. Many years ago I put the Society at Bath in a way wherein, if they had persevered, they would now have owed nothing. They were at Plymouth but thirty in number, and their debt was fourteen hundred pounds. I advised them, Let every member subscribe monthly what he can ; and an hundred at the Dock promised to do the same. ' I,' said one, ' will give a crown a month ' ; ' I,' said another, ' half a crown.' Many subscribed a shilling, sixpence, or threepence a month. And now the debt is paid. I began such a subscription in Bath ; as I have done in many places with success. But they left it off in two or three weeks. Why ? Because I gave four guineas to prevent one that was arrested from going to jail ! Good reason, was it not ? ' Why,' said one and another, ' might he not have given it to me ? '

I am glad to hear my dear sister is in a fair way of recovery. On Monday four weeks I shall probably set out for Bristol.¹ Peace be with your spirits !—I am, dear Adam,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To John Valton

LONDON, January 29, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Where you and Adam Clarke are it would be strange if there should be no revival. You do well to prune the circuit, and I advise to cut off all those (unless extremely poor) who do not according to our original rule contribute a shilling every quarter and a penny once a week. Many members you will lose thereby ; but our gain will be greater than our loss. You should likewise rigorously insist that every one meet his class weekly without some very peculiar hindrance. I am glad you have taken a catalogue of the Society as the *Minutes* of the Conference require. According to that catalogue the classes should always be met that every one may be marked exactly. If it should please God that I

¹ He set out on March 1.

should see another Conference at Bristol, I should willingly spend a day or two at your house. Peace be with your spirit !
—I am Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Freeborn Garrettson

Garrettson was finishing a letter with which he was going to send another copy of his Journal when he heard of Wesley's death. He therefore published it in America. See letter of July 15, 1789.

LONDON, February 3, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Two or three weeks ago I had the pleasure of a letter from you dated August 23, 1789, giving me a comfortable account of the swift and extensive progress of the work of God in America. You likewise informed me that you had written an account of your life, and directed it should be sent to me ; and I have been expecting it from day to day ever since, but have now almost given up my expectation ; for unless it comes soon it will hardly overtake me in the present world. You see, time has shaken me by the hand, and death is not far behind. While we live let us work our Lord's work betimes ; and in His time He will give us our full reward.—
I am Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Thomas Morrell

Thomas Morrell, one of the American preachers, was personally acquainted with General Washington. He and John Dickins arranged and were present at the interview in which Asbury and Coke presented a congratulatory address to him on his being appointed President of the United States. Coke's action in this matter was severely criticized in the British Conference. See Buckley's *The Methodists*, p. 265, and letter of September 5, 1789.

LONDON, February 4, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You gave me a very agreeable account of the progress of the gospel in America. One would hope the time is approaching when the earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord. Indeed, the amazing revolutions which have [been in] Europe¹ seem to be

¹ The States-General met on May 5, 1789. The Bastille was destroyed on July 14, and the Royal family put under arrest on Oct. 5. See letter of March to William Black.

the forerunners of the same grand event. The poor infidels, it is true, who know nothing of God, have no such design or thought. But the Lord sitteth above the waterfloods, the Lord remaineth a king for ever. Meantime it is expedient that the Methodists in every part of the globe should be united together as closely as possible. That we may all be one is the prayer of
Your affectionate friend and brother.

I have seen nothing of Brother Garrettson's letter.¹

To William Horner

Horner, who became a Methodist preacher in 1770, was Assistant at Oxford, with John Cricket and Richard Reece as his colleagues. John Murlin was a supernumerary. Witney and High Wycombe were in the circuit. Horner's daughter married Joseph Fletcher, another Methodist preacher; and their youngest son was the Rev. George Fletcher, sometime Governor of Richmond College.

LONDON, *February 8, 1790.*

DEAR BILLY,—I am determined there shall be no circuits in England with more than four preachers whilst I live. Four are too many if I could help it.

I should have no objection to have pews at Oxford under the gallery, but not elsewhere. I wish to have our preaching-houses different from all others.

Do not seek to be honourable; be content to be despised. I am glad you are all friends at Witney and that you prosper at High Wycombe.—I am, with love to Sister Horner,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. William Horner, Preaching-house,
Newing Hall, Oxford.

To Adam Clarke

James Gore was a supernumerary in Bristol. Clarke told Brackenbury on February 12 that he had passed away about eight days previously. 'A little before he died he said to me, "Brother Clarke, I

¹ This probably refers to a letter with his Journal, which went down with the ship that was bringing it. See Bangs's *Garrettson*, p. 176; and previous letter.

am going, and you will not be long after.'" Happily for the cause of religion and learning Clarke lived till 1832.

The *Minutes* of 1790 say that Gore 'was a young man of good understanding, great sweetness of temper, and eminent piety; and his end was glorious.' He probably died of consumption.

LONDON, *February 11, 1790.*

DEAR ADAM,—On Monday, March 1st, I hope to set out hence; and to preach that evening and on Tuesday at half hour past six o'clock in Bath. On Thursday, if he desires it, I will dine at Mr. Durbin's; and on Monday following begin as usual to meet the classes. I am not at all sorry that James Gore is removed from this evil world. You and I shall follow him in due time, as soon as our work is done. Many of our friends have been lately gathered into the garner as ripe shocks of wheat. Peace be with both your spirits!—I am,
 dear Adam, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Cock

LONDON, *February 13, 1790.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—The tender affection which I bear you makes me love to see your name at the bottom of a letter; but especially when it brings me the good news that your spirit is still rejoicing in God your Saviour. My sight is so far decayed that I cannot well read a small print by candlelight; but I can write almost as well as ever I could: and it does me no harm but rather good to preach once or twice a day. I love to hear the particulars of your experience, and I had a letter a few days ago from one of our sisters in Scotland whose experience agrees much with yours; only she goes further. She speaks of being 'taken up into heaven, surrounded with the blessed Trinity, and let into God the Father.' I commend you to His care; and am
 Yours most affectionately.

To Joseph Benson

NEAR LONDON, *February 16, 1790.*

DEAR JOSEPH,—On Monday se'nnight the 1st I hope to be at Bath; on the Thursday following at Bristol; on Monday the 15th I expect to be at Stroud, and on the Friday

following at Birmingham. In a few days you will see the remaining part of my treatise¹ in one of the public papers.

It is probable Dr. Priestley himself may be at length sated with controversy, and may choose to have a little interval between fighting and death. It may be such a contrast as you mention between the Doctor and the inspired writers may convince some gainsayers.—I am, with love to Sister Benson, dear Joseph,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Robert Carr Brackenbury

Brackenbury had retired from the Channel Islands, but had recently visited them to settle some difficulties raised by a litigious bailiff, who had formerly been friendly to the work. See *Raithby Hall*, p. 50; and letter of June 26, 1788.

LONDON, February 24, 1790.

DEAR SIR—Is the bailiff the same gentleman who subscribed to the chapel and let us have a lease for building? If so how came his mind to be so changed? But his heart is still in God's hand. And therefore you take the very best way possible to allay the present storm by seeking Him that turneth the hearts of men as the waters. Without His help human means will not avail. It has pleased God to give me more strength than I had in the autumn; but my eyes continue weak. It is enough that we are in His hands.—I am, dear sir,

Your very affectionate friend and brother.

To Whom it may Concern

LONDON, February 25, 1790.

In August 1788 Mr. Atlay wrote me word, 'I must look out for another servant, for he would go to Dewsbury on September 25.' So far was I from 'bidding him go,' that I knew nothing of it till that hour. But I then told him, 'Go and serve them'; seeing I found he would serve me no longer.

He sent me word that I had in London £13.75*s* 18*s*. 5*d*.

¹ Was this *The Rules of the Strangers' Friend Society in Bristol*, dated Bristol, March 12, 1790? See *Journal*, viii. 49; Miles's *Chronological History* (4th edition), p. 180; Tyerman's *Wesley*, iii. 253; and letter of Dec. 31, 1785, to John Gardner.

stock in books.¹ Desiring to know exactly, I employed two booksellers to take an account of my stock. The account they brought in, October 31, 1788, was :

Value of stock, errors excepted, £4,827 10s. 3½d.

John Parsons,
Thomas Scollick.

Why did John Atlay so wonderfully overrate my stock ? Certainly to do me honour in the eyes of the world.

I never approved of his going to Dewsbury ; but I submitted to what I could not help.

With respect to Dewsbury House, there never was any dispute about the *property of preaching-houses* (that was an artful misrepresentation), but merely the *appointing of preachers* in them.

If John Atlay has a mind to throw any more dirt upon me, I do not know I shall take any pains to wipe it off.² I have but a few days to live ; and I wish to spend those in peace.

To Thomas Tattershall

LONDON, February 28, 1790.

DEAR TOMMY,—If you had given me in time a particular account of your late disorder, &c., it is highly probable I should have saved you some expense and a good deal of pain.

But never imagine you and I shall be saved from reproach unless we changed our Master. Although it was determined at the Conference not to begin any other house till that at Dewsbury was finished (which is not done) I believe none will be offended at your receiving private benefactions from particular friends.—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Tattershall, At the Preaching-house,
In Norwich.

To William Black

Towards the close of 1789 Black wrote that the membership in Nova Scotia was 575, upwards of 400 of whom profess faith. Since his

¹ See letter of Sept. 4, 1788.

² See letter of May 12.

last letter thirty had been added. They had 'hard work, preaching to a dead, hardened, ignorant people' in Halifax; 'but God is now giving us to see the fruit of our labours.'

March, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad to hear you have some increase of the work of God in Halifax. If you take care that the brethren fall not out by the way, and that there be no jealousies or coldness between the preachers, but you all go on in peace and harmony, there will be an increase of it in every place. I have great hopes that the days of coldness and darkness are now past, and that the Sun of Righteousness is rising on Nova Scotia likewise. O stir up the gift of God that is in you, and wrestle with God in mighty prayer. He is doing great things in many parts of Europe such as have not been seen for many generations¹; and the children of God expect to see greater things than these. I do not know that England was ever before in so quiet a state as it is now. It is our part to wait the openings of Divine Providence, and follow the leadings of it.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Preachers and Friends

To this plan the following postscripts were added by another hand:

'Those persons who have occasion to write to Mr. Wesley are requested to direct their letters according to this plan, and not to London.'

'Our friends here earnestly desire that Mr. Wesley may be remembered in prayer, especially at the next Quarterly Fast, that his strength may be continued, and, if it please God, increased also.'

A similar plan was issued for the return journey from Aberdeen (May 22–8) to Bristol (July 17). See *W.H.S.* ii. 215–16.

LONDON, *March 1, 1790.*

As many persons desire to know where I am from this time till the Conference, I here set down my route, which, if God permit, I shall keep till that time.

March.

Monday, 15, Stroud; 16, Gloucester; 17, Worcester; 18,
Stourport; 19, Birmingham.

¹ See letter of Feb. 4.

Monday, 22, Wednesbury ; 23, Dudley and Wolverhampton ;
24, Madeley ; 25, Salop ; 26, Madeley ; 27, Newcastle-under-
Lyne ; 28, Lane End and Burslem.

Monday, 29, Congleton ; 30, Macclesfield.

April.

Thursday, 1, Stockport ; 2, Manchester.

Monday, 5, Nantwich and Liverpool ; 7, Warrington and
Chester ; 9, Wigan ; 10, Bolton.

Monday, 12, Blackburn ; 13, Colne ; 17, Keighley ; 18,
Haworth and Halifax.

Tuesday, 20, Huddersfield ; 21, Dewsbury ; 24, Wakefield ;
25, Birstall and Leeds.

Tuesday, 27, Bradford ; 29, Otley.

May.

Saturday, 1, Parkgate ; 2, York ; 4, Pocklington ; 6, Newcastle.

Monday, 10, Alnwick ; 12, Dunbar ; 13, Edinburgh.

Tuesday, 18, Dundee ; 19, Arbroath ; 20, Aberdeen.

N.B.—I have not yet finally settled the rest of my plan. I probably shall if I come to York. Many persons are continually teasing me to visit more places. Now let them judge whether I have not work enough.

To Friends in Trowbridge

BATH, March 3, 1790.

MY DEAR BRETHREN,—I have only one thing in view—to keep all the Methodists in Great Britain one connected people. But this can't be done unless the Conference, not the trustees, appoint all their preachers. Therefore the bond I recommend to the proprietors of all the unsettled preaching-houses is in this form : ' The condition of this obligation is such that if A, B, C, D, &c., the proprietors of the preaching-house in Trowbridge lately built for the use of the Methodists, do give a bond to settle the said house on seven trustees chosen by Mr. Wesley as soon as the present debt on it is paid, then this bond is void : otherwise it shall remain in full force.' Long writings I abhor. This is neither too long nor too short. Any of you that writes a fair hand may write this if on properly stamped paper without any lawyer.—I am, my dear brethren,

Your affectionate brother.

To George Sykes

BRISTOL, March 13, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You have particular reason to bless God for the good spirit wherein you found and left your father.¹ This is the Lord's doing, and is undoubtedly the effect of prayer. But I am sorry he is not weary of pain, otherwise he would have applied the bruised or baked onions. I know no instance yet wherein they failed to ease if not take away the pain.

I have much hope that your father's visit to Mr. Linder's will cut up all misunderstandings by the roots. We are all in peace here ; and I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Jasper Winscom

Winscom has written on this letter : ' I can witness, agreeable to this letter, that Mr. Wesley fully intended to reform the circuits, putting several of them together, so that the preachers would be obliged to ride on horseback as formerly, which he believed would contribute much to their bodily and spiritual health.' The Sarum circuit included Swanage, Blandford, Salisbury, Winchester, Southampton, Portsmouth, and Chichester. It was divided at Conference into the Salisbury and the Portsmouth Circuits.

BRISTOL, March 13, 1790.

DEAR JASPER,—The account of Thomas Whitwood² is very remarkable, and the story is well told ; and God has done much honour to him by the happy effects which have been consequent upon his death.³

I am in no haste at all concerning building without having paid some more of our debts. I am likewise in no haste to multiply preachers or to divide circuits. Most of our circuits are too small rather than too large. I wish we had no circuit with fewer than three preachers in it or less than four hundred miles' riding in four weeks. Certainly no circuit shall be divided before the Conference. If we do not take care we shall all degenerate into milksops. Soldiers of Christ, arise !
—I am, dear Jasper, Yours affectionately.

To Mr. J. Winscom, At the
Preaching-house, In Sarum.

¹ See letter of April 8.

² A young man in the Isle of Wight who died suddenly while shouting, which awful providence

was followed by an outpouring of the Spirit on the Society and congregation.

To Henry Moore

BRISTOL, March 14, 1790.

DEAR HENRY,—I have received the parcel by the coach. I quite approve of your sending the note to all our Assistants, and hope it will have a good effect. I would do anything that is in my power toward the extirpation of that trade which is a scandal not only to Christianity but humanity.¹

It will require both time and thought and much patience to bring into execution the other design which we see at a distance.

We go on well in this circuit ; and no wonder, since John Valton and Adam Clarke and Miss Johnson are here.—I am, with kind love to Nancy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To William Smith

Smith had been a bandmaster in the Army, and the Society in Londonderry, recognizing his ability, paid £50 to procure his discharge. He was received on trial as a preacher in July 1790, and appointed to Londonderry. He proved a very able and successful minister, and died in 1839. See Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, ii. 17 ; and letter of April 23.

BIRMINGHAM, March 21, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I was not sorry that you are discharged from the Army, seeing it was not by your own act and deed, but rather by a stroke of Divine Providence ; and I doubt not but it will be to the glory of God. The question was, What part of the vineyard would it be best for you to labour in ? I cannot in reason consent to your being long confined in the Londonderry Circuit. Is there any particular part of Ireland which you would prefer to others ? Or would you rather spend some time in England ? You may speak freely to

Your affectionate brother.

To Charles Atmore

One Sunday early in 1790 Atmore, the Assistant at Newcastle, was greatly distressed as he returned from preaching at Byker to see the number of children playing about. He resolved to establish a

¹ Slavery in the abolition of which Wesley took the keenest interest. See letter of Oct. 11, 1787.

Sunday school, and mentioned this to some friends in Newcastle next day. A meeting was held at the Orphan House that week, and the School was opened on Sunday mornings, with 70 teachers, and 1,012 children enrolled. See *Methodist Magazine*, 1845, p. 118.

MADELEY, *March 24, 1790.*

DEAR CHARLES,—I am glad you have set up Sunday schools at Newcastle. This is one of the best institutions which have been seen in Europe for some centuries, and will do more and more good, provided the teachers and inspectors do their duties. Nothing can prevent the success of this blessed work but the neglect of the instruments. Therefore be sure to watch them with all care that they may not grow weary of well-doing.

I shall be at Darlington, if God permit, on Tuesday and Wednesday, May 4, 5; on Thursday, at Durham, to preach at twelve o'clock; and at Newcastle between four and five in the afternoon. Peace be with you all, and yours.—I am, dear Charles, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Adam Clarke

MADELEY, *March 25, 1790.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You have done exceeding well in making the friends to understand the case of that young woman. I wonder she would be so open; surely she was constrained to reveal her own secrets. It seems now as plain as plain can be that this animal magnetism¹ is diabolical from the beginning to the end. At first I supposed it was only a cheat; but afterwards Satan struck in, and cheated the spectators, who had not skill to discern when the natural part ended and the preternatural began. Go on with faith and prayer to brave and detect all these depths of Satan. Peace be with your spirits!—I am, dear Adam,

 Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Samuel Bardsley

NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME, *March 27, 1790.*

DEAR SAMMY,—Take particular care that neither Michael Fenwick nor any other give any just offence, and especially that they offend not God; then He will make your enemies be at peace with you.

¹ See letter of April 14.

If I remember well, I did write to the Mayor of Bideford ; and I expect that makes him more quiet.¹ By meekness, gentleness, and patience, with faith and prayer, you will prevail at Torrington also. You have only to go on calmly and steadily, and God will arise and maintain His own cause. Only let us labour to have a conscience void of offence toward God and toward man.—I am, dear Sammy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Dr. Pretymman Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln (?)

Sir George Pretymman Tomline, Senior Wrangler, tutor and Secretary to the younger Pitt, was Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of St. Paul's 1787-1820, and Bishop of Winchester 1820-7. Whitehead and Moore say this letter was written a few months before that ' to a Member of Parliament ' (William Wilberforce) in July, 1790. See letter of June 26.

[*March 1790.*]

MY LORD,—I am a dying man, having already one foot in the grave. Humanly speaking, I cannot long creep upon the earth, being now nearer ninety than eighty years of age. But I cannot die in peace before I have discharged this office of Christian love to your Lordship. I write without ceremony, as neither hoping nor fearing anything from your Lordship or from any man living. And I ask, in the name and in the presence of Him to whom both you and I are shortly to give an account, why do you trouble those that are quiet in the land ? those that fear God and work righteousness ? Does your Lordship know what the Methodists are ? that many thousands of them are zealous members of the Church of England, and strongly attached not only to His Majesty but to his present Ministry ? Why should your Lordship, setting religion out of the question, throw away such a body of respectable friends ? Is it for their religious sentiments ? Alas, my Lord ! is this a time to persecute any man for conscience' sake ? I beseech you, my Lord, do as you would be done to. You are a man of sense ; you are a man of learning ; nay, I verily believe (what is of infinitely more value), you are a man of piety. Then think, and let think. I pray God to bless you with the choicest of His blessings.—I am, my Lord, &c.

¹ See letter of Nov. 23, 1789.

To Peter Garforth

Thomas Garforth died in 1789; see letter of August 9, 1783. His brother Peter enlarged the Woodhouse Chapel to seat 400 at his own expense.

MANCHESTER, April 2, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It would give me pleasure to see you anywhere, and particularly at Skipton.

But I am afraid it will not be in my power. Since my last illness I cannot preach so often as I used to do. But let us do what we can, and our Lord be well pleased.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

Mr. Garforth, At
Skipton-in-Craven, Yorkshire.

To Peard Dickinson

NEAR STOCKPORT, April 2, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—The settling in a new house must needs be attended with some hurry and inconvenience.¹ But the conveniences on the other hand will more than [avail] if you are careful to make your full use of them. I hope you will be resolute as to your time of going to bed and rising in the morning; that I may have one curate at least who will join me herein in setting a pattern to the flock. And I pray you fight against *slowness*, not only in reading Prayers, but in all things great and small. *Ne res omnes tardi gelideque ministrat.*²

Be lively! Be quick! Bestir yourself! In everything make haste, though without hurry. I am glad you attend the children. Your labour will not be in vain. My health rather increases than decreases. I think the summer will either kill or cure me. All is good. Peace be with you and yours!—I am
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Thomas Tattershall

MANCHESTER, April [3], 1790.

DEAR TOMMY,—So you have reason to acknowledge that God has not forgotten to be gracious. If you can build

¹ Dickinson lived near City Road Chapel. See letters of April 29, 1788, and April 28, 1790 (to Sarah Wesley).

² Apparently his adaptation of Horace's *Ars Poetica*, line 171: *Vel quod res omnes timide gelideque ministrat.*

preaching-houses without increasing the General Debt, it is well; but otherwise it will eat us up. But I have no more to do with these matters. I have appointed a Building Committee, and shall leave to them everything pertaining to building for the time to come. In all these parts of the kingdom there is a fair measure of the work of God. There will be so everywhere if the preachers are holy and zealous men.—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Tattershall, At the
Preaching-house, In Norwich.

To Thomas Taylor

MANCHESTER, April 4, 1790.

DEAR TOMMY,—I did not approve of Dr. Coke's making collections either in yours or any other circuit. I told him so, and I am not well pleased with his doing it. It was very ill done.

It is exceeding probable that sea-bathing will be of use to Brother Simpson; especially if he be temperate in all things, particularly in that which one hardly knows how to name.¹

I do not know what you mean concerning talking 'about the Church.' I advise all our brethren that have been brought up in the Church to continue there; and there I leave the matter. The Methodists are to spread life among all denominations; which they will do till they form a separate sect.—I am, with love to Sister Taylor, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To the Printer

LIVERPOOL, April 8, 1790.

SIR,—It is a melancholy consideration that there is no country in Europe, or perhaps in the habitable world, where the horrid crime of self-murder is so common as it is in England! One reason of this may be that the English in general are more ungodly and more impatient than other nations. Indeed, we have laws against it, and officers with juries are appointed

¹ William Simpson was Taylor's colleague in Hull.

to inquire into every fact of the kind. And these are to give in their verdict upon oath whether the self-murderer was sane or insane. If he is brought in insane, he is excused, and the law does not affect him. By this means it is totally eluded; for the juries constantly bring him in insane. So the law is not of the least effect, though the farce of a trial still continues.

This morning I asked a coroner, 'Sir, did you ever know a jury bring in the deceased *felo-de-se*?' He answered, 'No, sir; and it is a pity they should.' What, then, is the law good for? If all self-murderers are mad, what need of any trial concerning them?

But it is plain our ancestors did not think so, or those laws had never been made. It is true every self-murderer is mad in some sense, but not in that sense which the law intends. This fact does not prove him mad in the eye of the law. The question is, Was he mad in other respects? If not, every juror is perjured who does not bring him in *felo-de-se*.

But how can this vile abuse of the law be prevented and this execrable crime effectually discouraged?

By a very easy method. We read in ancient history that at a certain period many of the women in Sparta murdered themselves. This fury increasing, a law was made that the body of every woman that killed herself should be exposed naked in the streets. The fury ceased at once.

Only let a law be made and rigorously executed that the body of every self-murderer, lord or peasant, shall be hanged in chains, and the English fury will cease at once.¹

To George Sykes

Sykes, born at Sheffield in 1761 of well-to-do parents, was a class-leader in Nottingham who wished to become a travelling preacher; but his father threatened to disinherit him if he did. He wrote to Wesley, who sent him this reply. In April 1790 he took up work at Nottingham in the place of Thomas Vasey, who had gone to America, and at the Conference in July was admitted on trial. He adopted Calvinistic views, and in 1818 became an Independent pastor at Rillington, where he died. See letter of March 13.

¹ The letter appeared in a London paper.

LIVERPOOL, April 8, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—What says our Lord? 'Let the dead bury their dead; but preach thou the gospel.' O refuse not Him that speaketh, but take up thy cross and follow Him! —I am
Your affectionate brother.

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

On the back of this letter, in neat lady's handwriting, appears the following :

How many virtues does misery obscure,
How many talents does it crush !
Surely old age can only be terrible to the happy—
To those whom youth had crowned with joys
And time deprives of them !
What can it take from me but wretched days, sad prospects,
Unkind friends, and variety of disappointment ?

BOLTON, April 11, 1790.

MY DEAR SALLY,—Persons may judge I am not so well as I was once because I seldom preach early in the morning. But I have been no otherwise indisposed than by the heat and dryness of my mouth, which usually begins between one and two and ends between seven and eight.¹ In other respects I am no worse but rather better than I was six months ago. How much care must we take of these houses of clay that they sink not into the dust before the time ! All the advice which the art of man can give, my sister will hear from Dr. Whitehead. But, indeed, in most chronical cases vain is the help of man !

Our steward, Mr. Taylor,^a is one of the School Stewards. If you tell him I desire it, he will have that girl admitted into West Street School.

I am glad Sammy is diligent in study. It will save him from many temptations ; and if he strictly follows the method of Kingswood School, he will profit much.

Peace be with all your spirits.—I am, my dear Sally,
Ever yours.

**To Miss Wesley, In Chesterfield Street,
Marybone. London.**

¹ See letter of June 1 to Henry Moore.

* Edward Taylor. See *Journal*, viii, 115*d*, 126*d*; and for the Charity

**School at West Street, Seven Dials,
Telford's *Two West End Chapels*,
P. 72.**

To Adam Clarke

Clarke had slept in a damp bed at Trowbridge and had never lost his cough. Bristol was a laborious circuit, and Wesley expressed a fear when he saw him at the beginning of the year that he would not live long. Life with him that year was little better than a protracted martyrdom. See Etheridge's *Clarke*, p. 118; and letter of June 1 to Mrs. Clarke.

Durbin and his daughter seem to have been misled by the impostor whom Clarke had unmasked. See letter of March 25, 1790; and for Durbin, that of May 3, 1786.

MANCHESTER, April 14, 1790.

DEAR ADAM,—You have done exceeding well in searching this diabolical matter to the bottom and in arming our innocent members of the Society against that plausible delusion. I am glad you have at length succeeded in plucking honest Mr. Durbin out of the net. I have now hopes that his poor daughter will be delivered and will live to be a comfort to him. I wish you would write a particular account of your own state of health to Dr. Whitehead; and follow his advice with regard to every point, except the leaving off of preaching. I think, if I had taken this advice many years since, I should not have been a living man.

Peace be with you and yours!—I am, dear Adam,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Anne Cutler

Miss Cutler, one of Bramwell's converts, was born at Preston in 1759. She had told Wesley her experience when he visited Preston on April 14; and this was his reply. She attended to his advice and became very useful as a preacher. She died in 1794. See letter of August 8, 1788, to Lady Maxwell.

WALTON, April 15, 1790.

MY DEAR SISTER,—There is something in the dealings of God with your soul which is out of the common way. But I have known several whom he has been pleased to lead exactly in the same way, and particularly in manifesting to them distinctly the three Persons of the ever-blessed Trinity. You may tell all your experience to me at any time; but you will need to be cautious in speaking to others, for they would not understand what you say. Go on in the name of God and the

power of His might. Pray for the whole spirit of humility ; and I beg you would write and speak without reserve to, dear Nanny,
Yours affectionately.

To Mr. Andrews

HALIFAX, April 20, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—John Atlay goes on with flying colours, telling all that will give him the hearing how cruelly he has been used by me and the preachers after having faithfully served me so many years. He does not much concern himself about truth, but affirms whatever he thinks will serve his cause. But it is enough that He who is higher than the highest regards it, and will in due time cause His power to be known. I am glad to hear that the work of God prospers in your circuit. So it does here, notwithstanding all the pains such small friends take to hinder it. In due time God will command all these things to work together for good.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Andrews, near Hertford.
To the care of Mr. Whitfield,
New Chapel, London.

To William Smith

WAKEFIELD, April 23, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Your reasons are good. I entirely agree with your judgement. Considering the kindness which your friends in Londonderry have shown, it would not be advisable for you to be removed from them immediately. You had better remain with them another year.¹ I will therefore write to Dr. Coke that it may be so. But O beware of thinking too highly of yourself. You walk on slippery ground. May God keep you humble.—I am,

Your affectionate brother.

To Henry Moore

PARKGATE, April 25, 1790.

I thank you, my dear Harry, for giving me another proof that you are a man to be depended on. You keep your love and you keep your integrity even among weathercocks. But

¹ See letter of March 21.

who was it that turned Dr. Coke from east to west ? and (much more strange !) Dr. Hamilton ? But how is the fact ? Is the Society in Dublin quiet or no ? Is contention forgot ? or does it continue ? Are *a majority of the people* for retaining or for abolishing the eleven o'clock service ?¹ Surely Dr. Coke is not well in his senses.

I have wrote a loving but plain letter to Arthur Keene² (without saying a word of the forenoon service) to this effect : ' You would not have been justified in removing such a friend as me even if I had turned Papist or Mahometan. '—I am, with kind love to Nancy, dear Henry,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Arthur Keene

PARKGATE, LEEDS, April 28, 1790.

DEAR ARTHUR,—Many years you and I loved as brethren. We were united by no common ties. We took sweet counsel together and walked to the house of God as friends. On a sudden you renounced all intercourse with me, because, you said, I had left the Church. Alas ! what a cause ! Are such friends as I was to be thrown away for such a reason as this ? Truly I think such a step would not have been justifiable if I had turned Papist or Mahometan, much less for my turning Presbyterian, if it only had been so. And to your example chiefly was owing the unjust, unkind behaviour which I met with from many when I was in Dublin last ! Well, I cannot help it ; I am to be guided by my own conscience, not that of another man ! Many a weary journey have I had to Ireland ; I seem now to be fairly discharged. May the peace of God be with you and yours ! I do not depend on seeing you any more till we meet in the world of spirits.

Dear Arthur, adieu !

To Arthur Keene, Esq., Dublin.

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

PARKGATE, April 28, 1790.

MY DEAR SALLY,—Now if you was but sitting at my elbow you would see one of the pleasantest spots in the world.

¹ See letters of May 6, 1788, and May 12, 1790.

² See next letter, and that of July 6, 1789.

A round, clear fishpond is at a small distance surrounded by a smooth, green meadow which has a gently rising hill on one side and is surrounded with trees. After breakfast we are going to Miss Ritchie at Otley,¹ who will not be sorry to hear I have been writing to you. I shall now soon be moving northward; but must shorten my journey through Scotland as the work increases on all sides. If I am brought back into England, I shall then be able to judge whether I can take London in my way to Bristol. But I doubt I shall not be able to reach it before my usual time (if I live), the beginning of October.

I am glad to find you have not forgotten your way to the City Road. You should always look on our house as one of your homes; and when you are there, you will not forget Mrs. Dickinson—no, nor poor George Whitfield.

There is a little knot of people that love you well. What a blessing it is to have a few sincere friends! Surely they that fear the Lord can want no manner of thing that is good! I wish Charles and Sammy² could find their way thither. Well, the time is coming when we shall meet and part no more. My kind love attends you all.—I am, my dear Sally,

Ever yours.

Miss Ritchie writes:

Your dear Uncle gives me leave to add a few lines to the other side; therefore I cannot omit this opportunity of wishing my dear Miss Wesley multiplied blessings while visiting our dear City Road friends. My kind love awaits them, your aunt,³ &c. Oh that the spirit of the Lord may be poured out upon you all! I love my London friends, and rejoice in hope of soon spending a happy eternity with them and all who by patient continuance in well doing seek for honour, immortality, eternal life. Let us, my dear sister, be all for God, and His love shall change, renew, and sanctify. May much of the inward kingdom, the spiritual kingdom, faith . . .⁴ And may you walk in the com[fort] . . .⁴—My dear friend,

Yours affecy., ELIZ. RITCHIE.

¹ He had breakfast at 8, and reached Otley at 10.15. He got back to London on Oct. 2. See *Journal*, viii. 62, 100-1.

² See next letter and that of June 12.

³ Mrs. Hall.

⁴ Pieces torn away.

To his Nephew Samuel Wesley

This letter, addressed in the writing of Miss Ritchie to 'Mr. Saml. Wesley, Chesterfield Street, Marybone, London' was endorsed by Samuel Wesley, 'From the Rev. John Wesley, April 29, 1790.' See letter of August 19, 1784, to him.

OTLEY, April 29, 1790.

DEAR SAMMY,—For some days you have been much upon my mind. I have been pained concerning you, and have been afraid lest I should feel, when it was too late, that I had been wanting in affection to you. For ought I to see you in want of anything and not strive to supply your want? What do you want? not clothes or books or money. If you did, I should soon supply you. But I fear you want (what you least of all suspect), the greatest thing of all—religion. I do not mean external religion, but the religion of the heart; the religion which Kempis, Pascal, Fénelon enjoyed: that life of God in the soul of man, the walking with God and having fellowship with the Father and the Son.

When you contracted a prejudice in favour of the Church of Rome, I did not regard your embracing such and such opinions (were they right or wrong), but your being cut off from those instructions which you then especially needed. Had you attentively read but a small part of my writing (which Providence recommended to your attention by your near relation to me), or had you so diligently attended my ministry as you ought to have done, you would have known more of that religion than you do now: Christ in you the hope of glory, Christ reigning in your heart and subduing all things to Himself. And I lament that fatal step, your relinquishing those places of worship where alone this religion is inculcated, I care not a rush for your being called a Papist or Protestant. But I am grieved at your being an heathen. Certain it is that the general religion both of Protestants and Catholics is no better than refined heathenism.

O Sammy, you are called to something better than this! You are called to know and love the God of glory, to live in eternity, to walk in eternity, and to live the life which is hid with Christ in God. Hearken to the advice of one that stands on the edge of eternity.

In spite of prejudice, go and hear that word which is able to save your soul. Give God your heart. Consider these, my dear Sammy, as probably the dying words of

Your affectionate Uncle.

To Thomas Wride

DARLINGTON, May 5, 1790.

DEAR TOMMY,—It was a little thing to me, when I was able to ride on horseback, to strike a few miles out of my way. But that time is past. All I can do now is to visit the chief Societies. I hope to see our friends in Weardale and Barnard Castle, and I believe that will be as much as I must attempt.

I hope you have *now* got quit of your queer, arch expressions in preaching, and that you speak as plain and dull as one of us.¹ —I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Henry Moore

ALNWICK, May 12, 1790.

DEAR HENRY,—I think of the Dublin affair² just as you do. But it seems our small friends have half converted T. Rutherford.

That bill was for the share of a lottery ticket. The remaining money you may pay to George Whitfield.

Good John Atlay has just published a curious paper, in which he flatly affirms that 'Mr. Charles Wesley wrote those verses in his room after we had relinquished Dewsbury House on that occasion.' I want, therefore, Brother Sammy Bradburn to clear up this matter, which he may do, especially by certifying the day which was appointed for meeting at Mr. Hunter's, where they sang those very verses. Should not this certificate be as strong and as explicit as may be, that if possible it may stop the mouth of *the blatant beast*?³ Love to dear Sammy and you; but let this be done without delay.—
I am, my dear Henry, Ever yours.

¹ Wride was now in the Dales. See letter in Dec. 1786 to Bradburn.

² See letter of April 25. Rutherford

was the Assistant in Dublin.

³ See Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Book vi, canto xii.

To George Holder

ABERDEEN, May 24, 1790.

DEAR GEORGE,—I have no objection to your being in an English circuit next year,¹ as Brother Brown is staying another in the island; which I suppose may be supplied by three preachers this year, as it was the last. When the wit told the world of my being in the water at Portsmouth, I was three or four hundred miles from it. Be zealous for God, and you will all see the fruit of your labour.—I am, dear George,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Adam Clarke

DUMFRIES, June 1, 1790.

MY DEAR SISTER,—The great question is, What can be done for Adam Clarke?¹ Now, will you save his life? Look round; consider if there be any circuit where he can have much rest and little work; or shall he and you spend September in my rooms at Kingswood, on condition that he shall preach but twice a week and ride to the Hot Wells every day? I think he must do this, or die; and I do not want him (neither do you) to run away from us in haste. You need not object that this will be attended with some expense; if it be, we can make that matter easy. I am apt to think this will be the best way. In the meantime let him do as much as he can, and no more. It is probable I shall stay with you a little longer, as my strength does not much decline. I travelled yesterday near fourscore miles and preached in the evening without any pain. The Lord does what pleases Him. Peace be with all your spirits!—I am, my dear sister,

Yours most affectionately.

To Henry Moore

DUMFRIES, June 1, 1790.

DEAR HENRY,—So I am upon the borders of England again. My sight is much as it was; but I doubt I shall not recover my strength till I use that noble medicine¹ preaching in the morning. But where can we put poor Adam Clarke? He

¹ He was appointed to the Dales Circuit in 1790.

¹ See next letter and that of April 14.

² See letter of April 11.

DURHAM, June 12, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am exceedingly pleased that you have made a little tour to Portsmouth and the adjoining places ; and cannot doubt but it has been a blessing to many there as well as to your own soul. I seem to remember that I had a letter from you some time since ; but I do not remember whether I answered it or not.

If the good impressions which Sammy Wesley frequently feels could be changed, he would probably be a real Christian. You should contrive to see him as often as you can. Who knows but you may save a soul alive.¹

To take a little journey (were it but for a week) now and then would be of service both to your mind and body.—I am, with kind love to Betsy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To William Black

Black had sent a circumstantial report of the work in Nova Scotia. This is Wesley's reply : ' to which the tremulousness of age has given so chaotic an appearance as to have rendered it a task of considerable difficulty to decipher it.' See Richey's *Memoir*, p. 265.

SUNDERLAND, June 14, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You did well to send me an account of your little Societies. Here is a good beginning, though it is as yet in many places a day of small things, and although it does not please God to carry on His work so rapidly with you as in some of the provinces. But one soul is worth all the merchandise in the world ; and, whoever gets money, do you win souls.

Never was there throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland so great a thirst for the pure word of God as there is at this day. The same we find in the little islands of Man, Wight, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney in the Western Ocean. In the Isle of Man alone (thirty miles long) the Societies contain about four-and-twenty hundred members. I have just now finished my route through Scotland, where I never had such congrega-

¹ See letter of April 28 to Sarah Wesley.

tions before. So it pleases God to give me a little more to do before He calls me hence.

What has become of Brother Scurr, Dodson, and our other Yorkshire friends? Some of them doubtless are gone into a farther country; but some I suppose remain. I doubt you do not keep up a constant intercourse with each other. Love as brethren!—I am, dear William,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To John Dickins

WHITBY, June 19, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—This morning I received yours of April 9, with Mr. Asbury's bill enclosed. I was surprised when Lady Huntingdon absolutely forbade any preacher in her Connexion to marry. All I can say in that respect is, 'If thou mayst be free, use *it* rather.' I married because I needed a home, in order to recover my health; and I did recover it. But I did not seek happiness thereby, and I did not find it. We know this may be found in the knowledge and enjoyment and service of God, whether in a married or single state. But whenever we deny ourselves and take up the cross for His sake, the happier we shall be both here and in eternity. Let us work on likewise, and in His time He will give us a full reward.—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To the Rev. John Dickins, Philadelphia,

To William Thom

MALTON, June 21, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I concur in the judgement of my brother that the using of the form of prayer will tend to unite our people to the Church¹ rather than to separate them from it, especially if you earnestly insist on their going to church every fourth Sunday.

I am very indifferent concerning the preaching-house, and shall not concern myself about it any more. I have lost £10

¹ Charles Wesley's view. The fourth Sunday they were to take the Sacrament at Church.

by it already, although to no purpose. If anything more is done concerning it, it must be done by the people at Sarum themselves. I am, with love to Sister Thom, dear Billy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Dr. Pretyman Tomline, Bishop of Lincoln

The Methodists were in a difficult position, as this letter shows. Acting on legal advice, the greater number of the preachers and chapels were licensed according to the Toleration Act; but attempts were made to refuse licences to the Methodists unless they declared themselves Dissenters. Spies and informers were busy, and in a few cases heavy penalties were inflicted. The case which led Wesley to write to Dr. Pretyman Tomline is described in the letter in July to William Wilberforce. See Moore's *Wesley*, ii. 381-6; the next letter, and that in March to the Bishop of Lincoln.

HULL, June 26, 1790.

MY LORD,—It may seem strange that one who is not acquainted with your Lordship should trouble you with a letter. But I am constrained to do it; I believe it is my duty both to God and your Lordship. And I must speak plain; having nothing to hope or fear in this world, which I am on the point of leaving.

The Methodists in general, my Lord, are members of the Church of England. They hold all her doctrines, attend her service, and partake of her sacraments. They do not willingly do harm to any one, but do what good they can to all. To encourage each other herein they frequently spend an hour together in prayer and mutual exhortation. Permit me then to ask, *Cui bono*, 'For what reasonable end,' would your Lordship drive these people out of the Church? Are they not as quiet, as inoffensive, nay as pious, as any of their neighbours? except perhaps here and there an hairbrained man who knows not what he is about. Do you ask, 'Who drives them out of the Church?' Your Lordship does; and that in the most cruel manner—yea, and the most disingenuous manner. They desire a licence to worship God after their own conscience. Your Lordship refuses it, and then punishes them for not having a licence! So your Lordship leaves them only this alternative, 'Leave the Church or starve.' And is it a Christian, yea a

Protestant bishop, that so persecutes his own flock? I say, *persecutes*; for it is persecution to all intents and purposes. You do not burn them indeed, but you starve them. And how small is the difference! And your Lordship does this under colour of a vile, execrable law, not a whit better than that *de hæretico comburendo*.¹ So persecution, which is banished out of France, is again countenanced in England!

O my Lord, for God's sake, for Christ's sake, for pity's sake suffer the poor people to enjoy their religious as well as civil liberty! I am on the brink of eternity! Perhaps so is your Lordship too! How soon may you also be called to give an account of your stewardship to the Great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls! May He enable both you and me to do it with joy! So prays, my Lord,

Your Lordship's dutiful son and servant.

To the Rev. Mr. Heath

EFWORTH, July 3, 1790.

DEAR SIR,—I was concerned at not hearing anything of or from you for so long a season; but was not surprised, as I have been so frequently forgotten by my friends. And yet I thought Mrs. Heath and my dear children would remember me during the short time that I have to stay upon earth. This is not likely to be long. In August last² my strength and my sight failed me nearly at once; but they have been restored in some degree, so that my work (blessed be God) is not hindered. . . .

If I live to see Dr. Coke (who is now in Ireland) we must have an *éclaircissement* on this head. I should be exceedingly glad to have another sight of you and your dear family. If I see him, I will talk about it with Dr. Coke. As he sent you out I really think he should bring you back. I will advance fifty pounds for you all to employ as you think best.³ The peace of God rest upon you and yours!—I am, dear sir,

Your ever affectionate friend and brother.

¹ Concerning the burning of heretics.

² See letter of June 6.

³ Coke was President of the Irish Conference, which met in Dublin on July 2. See letter of June 26, 1789.

To John King

This letter has special interest as the last Wesley wrote from his native place. He attended church the next day, where there were five times as many present and ten times as many at the Lord's table as usual; and after the afternoon service he preached in the market-place 'to such a congregation as was never seen at Epworth before.' See *Journal*, viii. 78-9.

EPWORTH, July 3, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Mr. Mather said nothing to me about you; nor did Brother Hopkins say anything more than you heard. Have a care of evil surmising. If you can provide preaching for the Sundays during the Conference, you may come to Bristol.—I am Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. King, At the Preaching-house,
In Stockton-upon-Tees.

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

LONDON, July 13, 1790.

MY DEAR SALLY,—As my friends would take no denial I stole two or three days to see them, only by adding an hundred and fifty miles to my journey. If my life is prolonged till October, I hope we shall meet then. If not, we shall meet in a better place. It is remarkable that you should be at that gentleman's house. I do not remember I ever saw him but once. That was when I was at Temple Church, and he was laughing and making sport most of the time.¹

If you had covered the wound with white paper wetted with spittle, it would have stuck on till you was well. Perhaps it might still. But if not, the coal poultice will cure you in a few days. Pound common coal at fire; sift it through a sieve; mix this powder with warm water; put this poultice, half an inch thick, into a linen between on the sore, changing it every four-and-twenty hours. But you will have need of patience.—I am, my dear Sally, Yours most affectionately.

To Mrs. Cock

NEAR BRISTOL, July 22, 1790.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I have reason to bless God that I can still see a little; so that I can as yet go on in my business:

¹ Mr. L——. See letter of July 31 to her.

and it is enough if we are enabled either to do or to suffer His holy and acceptable will. It is no wonder if among yourselves there arise men speaking perverse things. Wherever our Lord sows His good seed Satan will endeavour to sow his tares also ; and they are suffered, the tares and the wheat, to grow up together for a season, to exercise our faith and patience. I hope Mr. Stevens will be more and more useful among you, as his eye is single ; therefore there can be no objection to his continuing with you a little longer.¹ I am always glad to hear a little of your experience ; and, indeed, the more the better. Wishing you and yours every blessing, I remain,

Yours most affectionately.

To Sarah Rutter

Wesley's last Conference began in Bristol on the day this letter was written.

George Rutter had died of consumption on April 20 in his twenty-fourth year. For his sister's account of him, see *Arminian Magazine*, 1792, pp. 238-40.

BRISTOL, July 27, 1790.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I thank you for forwarding me the account of your brother's death. There is something in it very remarkable.

You do well in taking care of the lambs of the flock. See that you never be weary of that labour of love.¹

Mr. Jenkins will stay with you another year. I hope you can now give God your whole heart. O let not your sisters stay behind you.—I am, dear Sally, Yours affectionately.

To William Roberts

BRISTOL, July 28, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad you have at last done with temporal business. I believe you was called to better things long ago.

¹ William Stevens was appointed to Portsmouth in 1790 ; he died in 1813.

² See letters of Dec. 5, 1789, and Oct. 18, 1790.

To-morrow se'nnight I hope to set out for Wales, where I purpose, God willing, to spend about three weeks and then about a month in and near Bristol.¹ You will then be able to inform me where you purpose to settle. O work while the day is ! Perhaps it will be short with you as well as with, dear Billy,

Your affectionate brother.

To John King

Clarke told Brackenbury on May 22, 'My health is much worse. I am obliged to make use of the doctor, which is the last shift.' Several of the preachers advised his appointment to Dublin; but Wesley hesitated on account of Clarke's health. He was at last persuaded to consent. See *Life* by his Son, i. 277; Dunn's *Clarke*, p. 77.

BRISTOL, July 31, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It is well if anything can restore Brother Clarke's health. He seems to be nearly worn out as well as me. If anything can give him a new constitution, it will be a long journey. Therefore, when he strangely consented to go to Dublin, I could not say anything either for it or against it. And I did not know whether the thing were not from God when I saw both him and his wife so thoroughly willing to give up all. Indeed, designing and crafty men have blown up such a flame in Dublin as none can quench but a man of faith and love. If I should live, I do not purpose he should stay there any longer than a year. But who knows what a year may [bring] forth? It may carry both me and you and them into a better world! Therefore let us live to-day!—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Sarah Mallet

BRISTOL, July 31, 1790.

DEAR SALLY,—I do not remember the receiving of any letter from you which I have not answered. I should be afraid my silence might give you pain; and that I would not do on any account. I am glad you have broken off that

¹ The Conference had begun in Bristol on July 27. Wesley left Bristol on the 21st, and left on Sept. 27. for Wales on August 5, got back to

intercourse which could not but be a snare to you. Nothing is more profitable to us than to cut off a right hand or pluck out a right eye. *If you go on in the work to which God has called you*, you will frequently have occasion for that. You will have trials upon trials. But what then? Is not His grace sufficient for you? And has He not in every temptation made a way for you to escape that you might be able to bear it? Let not your hands hang down; *God is on your side*. And if you are reproached for His name's sake, happy are you; and the spirit of glory and of God shall rest upon you. If you have a desire to have any books, let me know, and I will give orders to the Assistant.¹ It is well that you are acquainted with our sister *that likewise is sometimes* employed in the same labour of love; Providence has marked you out for friends to each other, and there should be no reserve between you. Pour all your thoughts and troubles and temptations into each other's bosom. God will often comfort and strengthen you by each other! May His peace continually abide with you both!—I am, my dear Sally, Yours affectionately.

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

BRISTOL, July 31, 1790.

MY DEAR SALLY,—If your hurt is not yet healed,^a apply thereupon the poultice of powdered coal prescribed in the *Primitive Physick*. In a few days it will cure any sore on a human body. I scarce ever knew it fail. The two grand medicines for a sin-sick soul are pain and pleasure. We hope [that] is most proper in any particular case. God is certainly the best Judge; and we may safely say,

I'll trust my great Physician's skill:
What He prescribes can ne'er be ill.

As Mr. L—— was at [Temple Church] too distant for me to see his behaviour, I am in hopes there was a mistake, and that the case was really such as he describes it. The rather because

¹ See letters of Dec. 15, 1789, and Feb. 21, 1789, and Dec. 13, 1790.
Dec. 13, 1790.

^a See letter of July 13.

^a Elizabeth Reeve. See letters of

I do not remember there was anything tending to move laughter either in the subject or the sermon.

Mr. Henderson ¹ has been ill for a long time and is far from well now. I saw him yesterday and he seems to have himself small hopes of recovery. I should be glad [to meet] any of the Miss Mores ²; but I doubt my conversation would not suit them, I have little relish for anything which does not [concern] the upper world. Peace be with all your spirits!—
I am, my dear Sally, Your ever affectionate Uncle.

To Miss Wesley, In Chesterfield Street,
Marybone, London.

To William Wilberforce

Moore says Wesley 'stated the case to a Member of Parliament, a real friend to religious liberty.' It was probably to William Wilberforce, who was not only a friend of liberty but intimate with Pitt.

Dr. Whitehead had some doubt whether 'Somersetshire' was not inserted in the last paragraph for 'Lincolnshire,' and his suggestion is followed when the letter appears in Wesley's *Works*. But Henry Moore writes: 'It was in Somersetshire Mr. Andrew Inglis was fined thus during the Bristol Conference in the year 1790. The lawyer at the head of this persecution boasted that he would drive Methodism out of Somersetshire. "Yes," said Mr. Wesley, "when he drives God out of it." There were evidently two cases, one of which was in Lincolnshire. The other case was that of one of the preachers, Andrew Inglis, the Assistant at Sheffield, who preached abroad on his way to the Conference in Bristol, and the clerical Magistrate fined him £20, as the Act directs. It was in vain that he pleaded being a native of Scotland, a Presbyterian, and a licensed preacher. The Magistrate, knowing what was being done in Lincolnshire, felt disposed, how contrary soever it might be to law, to play the same game. Inglis's case before Conference was worse, because he had paid the fine out of the public collections! The preachers regarded his timidity with great displeasure; as having dishonoured himself, and all our former sufferers. Dr. Coke in particular was much moved and said, 'I envy the situation in which you then stood, being ready to go to prison for the Lord's work.' See Moore's *Wesley*, ii. 383n; Sutcliffe's manuscript *History of Methodism*, p. 1194; and letter of June 26.

¹ Richard Henderson, of Hanham.
See letter of Sept. 9, 1765.

² Hannah More and her sisters,
who were her friends. Charles

Wesley and Wilberforce first met
at Miss More's. See Telford's *C. Wesley*, pp. 266, 280.

BRISTOL, July 1790.

Last month a few people met together in Lincolnshire to pray and praise God in a friend's house. There was no preaching at all. Two neighbouring Justices fined the man of the house twenty pounds. I suppose he was not worth twenty shillings. Upon this his household goods were distrained and sold to pay the fine. He appealed to the Quarter Sessions; but all the Justices averred the Methodists could have no relief from the Act of Toleration because they went to church, and that so long as they did so the Conventicle Act should be executed upon them.

Last Sunday, when one of our preachers was beginning to speak to a quiet congregation, a neighbouring Justice sent a constable to seize him, though he was licensed, and would not release him till he had paid twenty pounds, telling him his licence was good for nothing because he was a Churchman.

Now, sir, what can the Methodists do? They are liable to be ruined by the Conventicle Act, and they have no relief from the Act of Toleration! If this is not oppression, what is? Where, then, is English liberty? the liberty of Christians? yea, of every rational creature, who as such has a right to worship God according to his own conscience? But, waiving the question of right and wrong, what prudence is there in oppressing such a body of loyal subjects? If these good magistrates could drive them not only out of Somersetshire but out of England, who would be gainers thereby? Not His Majesty, whom we honour and love; not his Ministers, whom we love and serve for his sake. Do they wish to throw away so many thousand friends, who are now bound to them by stronger ties than that of interest? If you will speak a word to Mr. Pitt on that head, you will oblige, &c.

To Mrs. Armstrong

BRISTOL, August 4, 1790.

MY DEAR SISTER,—A few days ago I was thinking much of you, probably at the very time you was writing. I was wishing to hear something of you or from you, so that your letter came exactly in time. It gives me pleasure to find that your heart is still tending to its centre. Cheerfulness is a

great blessing ; but it is exceeding liable to be carried to an extreme, especially where it is a natural liveliness of temper, which I believe is your case. I have often loved you for it, especially as it was joined with softness and not harshness. But I thought it was apt to betray you into levity either of spirit or of conversation ; whereas we can hardly grow without deep and steady seriousness. My sight is no worse than it was some months since, and my strength is considerably increased. It is not impossible I may live till spring ; and if I do so, I am likely to see Ireland once more. The hope of seeing one that loves me (as I am persuaded Jenny Armstrong does) would be no small inducement to my undertaking a voyage, although the sea affected me the last time more than it ever did before.¹ However, receive at least this token of real affection from, my dear Jenny, Yours in wider love.

To Jane Armstrong, Athlone.

To Thomas Roberts

Thomas Roberts, a young preacher, had just been appointed to Bristol. John M'Kersey at Pembroke had neglected his duty. He is second preacher at Hexham in 1791. Roberts and Henry Moore met Wesley at Newport on August 21. See *Journal*, viii. 88*d* ; and letters of February 12, 1789, and October 23, 1790, to him.

HAVERFORDWEST, August 13, 1790.

DEAR TOMMY,—Now I shall make a trial of you whether I can confide in you or no. Since I came hither I have been much concerned. This is the most important circuit in all Wales ; but it has been vilely neglected by the Assistant, whom, therefore, I can trust no more. I can trust you even in so critical a case. I desire, therefore, that, whoever opposes, you will set out immediately, and come hither as soon as ever you can. I wish you could meet me at Cardiff or Cowbridge. You will see by the printed plan when I shall be at either of those places. If you have not notice enough to do this, meet me to-morrow se'nnight at the New Passage, unless you can get a passage by the weekly boat to Swansea. If it be possible, do not fail. It may be this may be the beginning of a lasting friendship between you and, dear Tommy, Yours, &c.

¹ See letter of June 24, 1789.

To Sarah Baker

HAVERFORDWEST, August 14, 1790.

MY DEAR SISTER,—I will endeavour to be at Cowbridge¹ on Thursday the 19th instant before two o'clock. My design was to have dined at Mr. [Flaxman's]; but I now purpose to wait upon Mrs. Paynton. I am glad to hear Betsy is with you; and am, dear Sally, Yours very affectionately.

To William Mears

PEMBROKE, August 15, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—It is my desire that all things be done to the satisfaction of all parties.² If therefore it be more convenient, let Brother Pritchard's family³ and Sister Boon lodge at Chatham house. Why have you not set on foot a weekly subscription in order to lessen your debt? Have neither the preachers nor the people any spirit? Who begins? I will give two shillings and sixpence a week (for a year), if all of you together will make up twenty shillings.—I am, dear Billy, Your affectionate brother.

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

Wesley says in his *Journal* for November 13, 1779: 'I had the pleasure of an hour's conversation with Mr. G., one of the members of the first Congress in America. He unfolded a strange tale indeed! How has poor King George been betrayed on every side!' Galloway published letters criticizing the conduct of the war by General Howe. Wesley told a friend in 1781 that he saw not the least trace of the scurrility with which he had been charged by Sir William Howe 'in anything Mr. G. has published. He is above it. He is no "venal instrument of calumny"; he abhors calumny as he does rebellion.' Wesley met him at Charles Wesley's house on January 3, 1783, and dined with him on February 24, 1789. He wished Miss Wesley to know Mr. and Miss Galloway; and on February 21, 1791, took her and Miss Ritchie to dine with Galloway at Twickenham. It was 'the first and last visit to that pleasing family and lovely place.' See *Journal*, vi. 261-2, 385d, vii. 471d, viii. 134; *Dic. of Nat. Biog.*; *W.H.S.* iv. 114-15, ix. 5-9; and letters of June 8, 1780, and September 17, 1790.

¹ See letter of Oct. 27, 1784, to Oct. 29, 1786.
her.

² Mears was a useful local preacher and Charles Boon at Canterbury in 1790.
in Rochester. Compare letter of 1790.

³ John Pritchard was at Chatham

NEAR COWBRIDGE, August 18, 1790.

MY DEAR SALLY,—I always mildly reprove the profane person or (what is worse) the profane *gentlemen*; and many of them will receive it civilly if not thankfully. They all know (captains as well as common men) that swearing is not necessary; and even now we have captains of our men-of-war who do not swear at all. The captain of the ship¹ wherein I came from America did not swear at all; and never was man better obeyed.

You have certainly need for thankfulness as well as patience, and you should be sure to take as much exercise every day as you can bear. I wish you would desire George Whitfield to send you the chamber-horse² out of my dining-room, which you should use half an hour at least daily.

If I live to see London, I think I must take you to Twickenham. Surely Mr. Galloway owes to the world a true account of the American revolution. All the question is whether it should be published during his life.

What says my brother?—

When *loss of friends* ordained to know,
Next pain and guilt the sorest ill below.³

But this you did not take into the question. Neither that—

Let each his friendly aid afford.
And *feel* his brother's care.

Perpetual cheerfulness is the temper of a Christian, which is far enough from Stoicism. Real Christians know it is their duty to maintain this, which is in one sense to rejoice evermore.

I think Sammy and you should converse frequently and freely together. *He* might help *you*, and you might help *him*. I take him to have a mind capable of friendship, and hope if I live to be more acquainted with him.

The gentleman you mention just called upon me, but did not stay, as I had company with me. To-morrow I hope to be at Bristol.—I am, my dear Sally,

Most affectionately yours.

¹ 'The *Samuel*, Captain Percy' of July 17, 1785, and March 13, 1788. (*Journal*, i. 413).

² S. Wesley, Jun., on Dr. Gastrell.

³ For indoor exercise. See letters

To James Creighton

Wesley had spent some time in training his preachers, and had been well rewarded for his labour. Creighton evidently wished that something more should be done.

COWBRIDGE, August 19, 1790.

DEAR SIR,—The proposal concerning a lecture for the instruction of the preachers, full counsel must mature. If I live to return to London, we may then consider it at large. When we meet we may talk largely on the subject, and weigh what may be said for and against it.

I have often advised those who wrote me accounts of lives and deaths, 'Write enough; I can shorten your accounts as I please.' Few people know what part of this is material. You and I must determine this.

Do not scruple to speak to Mr. Dickinson concerning the funerals, which I will confirm in due time. And speak twice or thrice in public of coming punctually at the time; telling 'otherwise we will not stay for you.' Mr. Peacock¹ may have what books he pleases either for himself or for the poor.

Peace be with you and yours! I hope to be at Bristol on Saturday; and am, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Rev. Mr. Creighton, At the New Chapel,
Moorfields, London.

To Joseph Burgess

Burgess had been admitted on trial and appointed to Liverpool. He had been a soldier in Ireland, became an earnest Methodist, and entertained Wesley several times. His son was a very useful Methodist preacher. See Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, i. 457.

BRISTOL, August 22, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You are called to do all the good you can for the present in Ireland. Your staying there a little longer may be a blessing to many souls. I believe we can easily procure another preacher to supply your place at Liver-

¹ John Peacock in the Grimsby Circuit.

pool for a month or two ; so you need be in no pain upon that account. A little difficulty in setting out is a good omen.

Wishing all happiness to you and yours, I am, dear Joseph,
Your affectionate brother.

To Jasper Winscom

BRISTOL, August 28, 1790.

DEAR JASPER,—I do not see how you can be spared from your own circuit till another is procured to take your place.¹ Neither do I conceive how Sarum Circuit can bear the expense of another preacher. I am wellnigh tired of it. I have had more trouble with this circuit than with ten circuits besides.

You did exceeding well in adjusting matters at Whitchurch ; but I am sorry for poor Sister Haime.² I am sure she was a good woman once.

I do not understand what you mean as to Winton. How did William Thom raise them eight pounds ?³ And on what account did you pay six pounds ?—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. —

BRISTOL, September 2, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I hope it will be found that your wife's tendon is not broken but only sprained.

I cannot make any alteration in the plan of my journey, which gives me about as much work as I can do.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Adam Clarke

Clarke wrote from Dublin on September 5, reporting their safe arrival. 'Our journey by land was long and fatiguing, particularly to my dear wife and children. Blessed be God, they are now in a measure recovered.' Thomas Rutherford had been ill, and things had got somewhat irregular. Prayer-meetings were continued at unreasonable length, 'hardly ever breaking up before ten or eleven o'clock, and frequently continued to twelve and one ; and in these meetings some have taken on them to give exhortations of half an hour and

¹ Winscom had been Assistant in the Isle of Wight, and was now appointed to Oxfordshire.

² John Haime, Wesley's soldier preacher, died at Whitchurch on

Aug. 18, 1784. See letter in March 1744 to him.

³ William Thom had been Assistant at Sarum.

sometimes forty-five minutes in length.' He finds some have a very jealous spirit, and wishes to move with caution and under Wesley's directions. See Dunn's *Clarke*, pp. 77-9; and letter of October 28.

BRISTOL, September 9, 1790.

DEAR ADAM,—Did not the terrible weather that you had at sea make you forget your fatigue by land? Come, set one against the other, and you have no great reason to complain of your journey. You will have need of all the courage and prudence which God has given you. Indeed, you will want constant supplies of both. Very gently and very steadily you should proceed between the rocks on either hand. In the great revival at London my first difficulty was to bring in temper those who opposed the work, and my next to check and regulate the extravagancies of those that promoted it. And this was far the hardest part of the work, for many of them would bear no check at all. But I followed one rule, though with all calmness: 'You must either bend or break.' Meantime, while you act exactly right, expect to be blamed by both sides. I will give you a few directions: (1) See that no prayer-meeting continue later than nine at night, particularly on Sunday. Let the house be emptied before the clock strikes nine. (2) Let there be no exhortation at any prayer-meeting. (3) Beware of jealousy or judging another. (4) Never think a man is an enemy to the work because he reproves irregularities. Peace be with you and yours!—I am, dear Adam,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Robert Carr Brackenbury

BRISTOL, September 15, 1790.

DEAR SIR,—Your letter gave me great satisfaction. I wanted to hear where and how you were; and am glad to find you are better in bodily health, and not weary and faint in your mind.¹ My body seems nearly to have done its work and to be almost worn out. Last month my strength was nearly gone, and I could have sat almost still from morning to night.² But, blessed be God, I crept about a little and

¹ See letters of Nov. 7, 1788, and Dec. 7, 1790, to him. far from idle, despite his weakness. See *Journal*, viii. 83-90 (Diary for

² The Diary shows that he was Aug.), 94.

made shift to preach once a day. On Monday I ventured a little further; and after I had preached three times (once in the open air) I found my strength so restored that I could have preached again without inconvenience. I am glad Brother D—— has more light with regard to full sanctification.¹ This doctrine is the grand depositum which God has lodged with the people called Methodists; and for the sake of propagating this chiefly He appeared to have raised us up.

I congratulate you upon sitting loose to all below, steadfast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free. Moderate riding on horseback, chiefly in the South of England, would improve your health. If you choose to accompany me in any of my little journeys on this side Christmas, whenever you was tired you might go into my carriage. I am not so ready a writer as I was once; but I bless God I can scrawl a little—enough to assure you that I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

BRISTOL, September 17, 1790.

MY DEAR SALLY,—Will it not be best for you to spend a little time at Margate² as soon as possible? I hope to be in town on Saturday, October 3. And before the end of October you should be at the City Road, if not [already gone] to Twickenham. I believe sea-bathing will brace your nerves; but I pray [you not to drink] sea-water.³ If you look into the *Primitive Physick*, [you will see what] is the diet-drink⁴ therein prescribed for scorbutic sores; though your disorder is not come so far, I expect it would thoroughly purify your blood in a month's time.

I shall be right glad to see Mr. Galloway.⁵ A few such acquaintance as him and Miss Galloway I wish you to have.

¹ Was this William Dieuside, in Guernsey?

² She went there. See next letter.

³ See letter of Sept. 8, 1788.

⁴ In the *Primitive Physick* under the head of 'Scorbutick Sores' is given a drink to be taken 'fasting

and at four in the afternoon.' This is probably the 'diet-drink' to which he refers. It is called 'a diet-drink' in the later editions. See *W.H.S.* iv. 72.

⁵ For Joseph Galloway, see letter of Aug. 18.

I wish you was likewise acquainted with that lovely woman Mrs. Wolff¹; 'the perfect pattern of true womanhood.' Peace be with all your spirits!—My dear Sally, adieu!

To Miss Wesley, In Chesterfield Street,
Marybone, London.

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

LONDON, October 5, 1790.

DEAR SALLY,—I am glad you are situated so comfortably. Mrs. Whitcomb does really fear God, and I hope before you leave her house will know what it is to love Him. Providence has not sent you to spend a little time in Margate merely on your own account.² Before you leave it she with several others shall have reason to praise God that you came. See that you lose no time. A word spoken in season, how good is it! Warn every one and exhort every one, if by any means you may save some. 'In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thy hand; for thou knowest not which shall prosper.' Say not, 'I can do nothing, I am slow of speech.' True; but who made the tongue? You have seen Sister Boon, a loving, simple-hearted woman.³ Be a follower of her, as she is of Christ. Why should you not meet in her class? I think you will not be ashamed. Is it not a good opportunity of coming a little nearer to them that love you well? Let me have the comfort of one relation at least that will be an assistant to me in the blessed work of God.

I must visit other places before I come into Kent, as well as visit the classes in London; so that I cannot be at Margate till the latter end of next month. If you stay there till then, you will see me, otherwise probably in London. Everywhere you will be welcome to, my dear Sally,

Your affectionate Uncle.

To Joseph Sutcliffe

This letter is addressed to 'Mrs. Sutcliffe, for Rev. Jos. Sutcliffe, Oxon'; and endorsed, 'Venerable John Wesley's, four months before his death.'

¹ Mrs. Wolff, of Balham. From their house Wesley went home to City Road to die.

² See previous letter.

³ Wife of Charles Boon, now at Canterbury. She was probably living at Chatham. See letter of Aug. 15.

Joseph Sutcliffe, M.A., was born at Baildon in Yorkshire, and became an itinerant when twenty-four. He was an attractive preacher, and was 'distinguished by a heavenly mind,' and 'favoured with real genius.' He published *A Commentary on the Old and New Testament* (two volumes, 1834) and many other works. He died May 14, 1856, aged ninety-four.

COLCHESTER, October 12, 1790.

DEAR JOSEPH,—I have heavy news to tell you, perhaps [to] try all the resignation which you have. After long weighing the matter in my mind, I cannot think of a preacher more proper to save Mr. Brackenbury's life¹ and prevent his preaching himself to death (which he has almost done already) than Joseph Sutcliffe. I must [ask] you to go as soon as possible by Southampton to the Isle of Jersey.² You will find a most hearty welcome both from him and from all the people. Understand it will be a cross; but I believe it will be a blessed one. I have wrote this morning for another to come and supply your place in Oxfordshire.—I am, dear Joseph,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Thomas Taylor

NORWICH, October 14, 1790.

DEAR TOMMY,—It is a pity that good and useful man should be torn away from the people. But we know no way to help it. So 'what can't be cured must be endured.'

According to your account, Brother Shaw³ and his wife have seventeen pounds a year. My judgement is, and yours was, that . . . out of the common stock. But I think one that has as much or more already cannot honestly demand or receive anything out of it. Peace be with you and yours!—I am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Jasper Robinson

Jasper Robinson was Assistant at Grimsby, with James Evans as his colleague. John Ramshaw was at Epworth.

¹ See letter of Sept. 15.

² Evidently to take the place of John Bredin. See letter of Jan. 3, 1791.

³ Thomas Shaw, his colleague in Hull, was 'remarkable for disinterestedness and zeal'; he died in 1801.

NORWICH, October 17, 1790.

DEAR JASPER,—Surely never was there more need than there is at present, that you should all continue instant in prayer. If God is for us, who can be against us? But I am afraid lest God should be angry with us. It should be with us a time of much self-examination. Every member of our Society should weigh himself in the balances of the Sanctuary, and try whether his walk is acceptable before God. All the world can do us no hurt unless God has a controversy with us.

I know nothing of Bro. Ramshaw's changing with Bro. Evans unless they and you desire it.—I am, dear Jasper,

Your affectionate friend and brother,

To George Snowden

NORWICH, October 17, 1790.

DEAR GEORGE,—I have sent John Bredin word that he is to return to Ireland and be a superannuated preacher. He is not able to act as a travelling preacher. His shattered constitution will not admit of it.¹ I never thought of appointing him for the Bath Circuit. It was he himself that desired it.

Now, George, be zealous! Warn every one and exhort every one, that by all means you may save some. Everywhere restore either preaching or prayer-meeting in the morning. The more we deny ourselves the more we grow in grace. Let Sister Snowden also stir up the gift of God that is in her; no preacher's wife should be useless.—I am, dear George,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. George Snowden, At the
Preaching-house, In Bath.

To Sarah Rutter

Wesley visited St. Neots on October 28, preached, and met the Society. 'S[—]' may mean a conversation with Miss Rutter. See *Journal*, viii. 110d; and letters of July 27, 1790, and February 17, 1791.

¹ See letter of June 1, 1789.

NORWICH, *October 18, 1790.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—You gave me a very agreeable account of the state of our friends at St. Neots. I did not doubt, but if you yourself stirred up the gift of God which was in you, God would give a blessing thereto, and you soon would see the fruit of your labour. You have good encouragement to proceed. Still thus make use of the faith and talents which God hath given you, and He will give you more faith and more fruit; for there is no end of His mercies. I want to spend a little time with you at St. Neots. When I am able to fix the day, Mr. Bradford will send you a line beforehand. Peace be with all your spirits!—I am, dear Sally,

Yours affectionately.

To Mr. York

LONDON, *October 22, 1790.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I think you know I would refuse you nothing which I could allow with a clear conscience. But I cannot, I dare not consent to the violation of that rule which was fixed in the late Conference: 'No preacher is to preach three times in a day to the same congregation.' It is neither good for his body nor soul.—I am, my dear brother,

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. York, In Stourport,
Near Kidderminster.

To James Macdonald

Wesley did not dream of the service which James Macdonald (then his Assistant at Newry) and his descendants were to render to Methodism and to the wider world of art, literature, and politics. Macdonald became one of Wesley's preachers in 1784, served for six years as Assistant Editor of the *Methodist Magazine*, and lived to see a son in the ministry who became the father of Lady Burne-Jones, Lady Poynter, Mrs. Kipling, Mrs. Baldwin, and the Rev. F. W. Macdonald. His grandsons Rudyard Kipling and Stanley Baldwin (twice Prime Minister) carry on a unique succession. James Macdonald's *Letters*, edited by his grandson, still bear witness to his ability and his lofty character. 'I would not forget,' he wrote, 'that moral worth alone is current coin in eternity.' See letter of January 18, 1791, to him.

LONDON, *October 23, 1790.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You have great reason to praise God for the late glorious work at and near Newry. And I

make no doubt but it will continue, yea and increase, if the subjects of it continue to walk humbly and closely with God. Exhort all our brethren steadily to wait upon God in the appointed means of prayer and fasting. The latter of which has been almost universally neglected by the Methodists both in England and Ireland. But it is a true remark of Kempis, 'The more thou deniest thyself, the more thou wilt grow in grace.'—I am
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Thomas Roberts

LONDON, October 23, 1790.

DEAR TOMMY,—'Tis well if you do not bring upon yourself more trouble than you are aware of by going out of the circuit before all things are thoroughly settled therein. However let it be so, if you can provide tolerably well for it in your absence. You have great [need] to make haste back; for a circuit does ill without its assistant.¹—I am, dear Tommy,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Roberts, At the Preaching-house belonging
To the Rev. Mr. Wesley in Carmarthen.

To his Niece Sarah Wesley

HINXWORTH, October 27, 1790.

MY DEAR SALLY,—I am glad you have found benefit at Margate; and am persuaded the sea and the journey together will help you, not only as to your particular complaint but as to your health in general.

On Saturday I am to return to London, and to remain a fortnight before I begin my next journey. So you should contrive to be with us when you can. You know you are always welcome. I [stay] here to write two or three lines before I set out for Bedford,² lest you should fear your letter had miscarried.—Dear Sally, adieu!

¹ Wesley had sent him to Carmarthen, though he was stationed at Bristol. See letters of Aug. 13,

1790, and Feb. 8, 1791.

² He left Hinxworth at twelve that morning for Bedford.

To Adam Clarke

BEDFORD, October 28, 1790.

DEAR ADAM,—I am glad my letter had so good an effect. I dearly love our precious Society in Dublin and cannot but be highly sensible of anything that gives them disturbance. I am glad our leaders have adopted that excellent method of regularly changing the classes. Wherever this has been done, it has been a means of quickening both the leaders and the people. I wish this custom could be effectually introduced. You did well to prevent all irregular and turbulent prayer-meetings,¹ and at all hazards to keep the meetings of the Society private.

Poor Mr. Smyth is now used just as he used me. He must either bend or break. Although you cannot solicit any of Bethesda to join with us, yet neither can you refuse them when they offer themselves. You do well to show all possible courtesy to Mr. Wm. Smyth and his family² as long as the Society in Dublin numbers upwards of a thousand you will have no reason to complain.

Do not make too free with opium. I believe the remedy in the *Primitive Physick* (a dram of salts of tartar and a dram of cochineal in a large quantity of toast and water) might warm your bowels.—I am, dear Adam,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Adam Clarke, At the New Room,
In Dublin.

To Samuel Bardsley

Thomas Wride wrote from Barnard Castle on August 10 that he had heard he was appointed to Bideford, near four hundred miles away. Neither he nor his wife was fit for so long a journey, and he requested that the appointment might be changed. Having received no instructions on August 26, he asked for directions to be sent to him to Charles Harrison at Welburn, near Castle Howard, Yorks.

NEAR LONDON, October 29, 1790.

DEAR SAMMY,—The person that was appointed to come down to Bideford has been prevented from coming by want

¹ See letter of Sept. 9.

² See letter of June 16, 1788.

of health. And I believe it was well: it has confirmed me in a resolution which I had formed before—not to send more preachers into any circuit than that circuit can provide for. We are almost ruined by not observing this rule. I will observe it better for the time to come.—I am, dear Sammy,

Your affectionate brother.

To George Holder

LONDON, October 30, 1790.

DEAR GEORGE,—The Assistant in every circuit (not the leaders) is to determine how each Preacher is to travel. If Jonathan Hern¹ will not or cannot take his turn with his fellow labourers, I must send another that will. I do not like dividing circuits. Could not three or more of the northern places be added to the Sunderland or Newcastle circuits, in order to lessen yours and bring it into a six weeks' circuit? Pray send me the manner of your travelling through your circuit. I think I shall order it better.—I am, with love to Sister Holder, dear George,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Samuel Wood

Wood was admitted on trial as a preacher in 1789 and appointed to Coleraine. His theological attainments, sound judgement, and eminent ability in maturer years, amply justified his youthful promise. See Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, i. 446; and *Journal*, vii. 73, for Wesley's advice to him about preaching in 1785 when he was a youth of seventeen.

[October, 1790.]

DEAR BROTHER,—I have delivered my opinion upon this subject in one of the sermons in the *Arminian Magazine*, and I again say that though a parent has not a *positive* authority yet he has a *negative*—i.e., though a child is not obliged to marry whom its parent pleases, yet it ought not to marry whom he forbids, especially a daughter; and when a marriage has been contrary to a religious and prudent parent's opinion and counsel, I have rarely known it to be a happy one.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

¹ His colleague in the Dales Circuit. See letter of Nov. 8.

To Ann Bolton

HIGH WYCOMBE, November 4, 1790.

MY DEAR SISTER,—The more I consider your case, the more I am convinced that you are in the school of God and that the Lord loveth whom He chasteneth. From the time you omitted meeting your class or band you grieved the Holy Spirit of God, and He gave a commission to Satan to buffet you ; nor will that commission ever be revoked till you begin to meet again. Why, were you not a mother in Israel ? a repairer of the waste places ? a guide to the blind ? a healer of the sick ? a lifter up of the hands which hung down ? Wherever you came, God was with you and shone upon your path. Many daughters had done virtuously ; but thou excellest them all. Woman, remember the faith ! _In the name of God, set out again and do the first works ! I exhort you for my sake (who tenderly love you), for God's sake, for the sake of your own soul, begin again without delay. The day after you receive this go and meet a class or a band. Sick or well, go ! If you cannot speak a word, go ; and God will go with you. You sink under the sin of omission ! My friend, my sister, go ! Go, whether you can or not. Break through ! Take up your cross. I say again, do the first works ; and God will restore your first love ! and you will be a comfort, not a grief, to

Yours most affectionately.

To John Valton

Valton had been on a preaching-tour in Cornwall during August, September, and October. 'The visit was very refreshing both to them and to him. The ground was new, and it seemed as if he could hardly leave it.' Robert Empringham and Thomas Leggat (who began to travel in 1788) were in the St. Ives Circuit. Leggat went to Helston with Valton, who says high words passed between two of the principal persons at St. Ives, which made it a very uncomfortable time. See *Wesley's Veterans*, vi. 110-11 ; *W.H.S.* viii. 191-2.

LONDON, November 6, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—When you went into the West I was fully persuaded our Lord would go with you and prosper your labour. And I make no doubt He will fulfil in you all the good pleasure of His goodness and all the work of God with power.

You do not know the Cornish yet. Many of them have little sense and a great inclination to criticize.

Rob. Empringham is a sound though not a bright preacher. Brother Leggat's far from a contemptible one. If they use the preachers I send thus, they shall. If Jno. Bredin goes for some months, who will keep him? I will have no demand made on the Conference.—I am, with kind love to Sister Valton,

Ever yours.

To Mr. Valton, At the New Room,
Bristol.

To George Holder

LONDON, November 8, 1790.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—If you and your wife strengthen each other's hands in God, then you will surely receive a blessing from Him. But [it] is not abundance of money or any creature that can [make] us happy without Him.

'Delight ye in the Lord and He will give you your heart's desire.'

It cannot be that the people should grow in grace unless they give themselves to reading. A reading people will always be a knowing people. A people who talk much will know little. Press this upon them with your might; and you will soon see the fruit of your labours.

I wish [every] circuit in England had three preachers, neither more nor less. This is worth thinking of. The Dales Circuit is too large. Five or six might be taken out of it, and given to Sunderland, Newcastle, and Alnwick.¹ Peace be with your spirit!—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Cock

LONDON, November 9, 1790.

MY DEAR SISTER,—How unsearchable are the counsels of God! How little are we able to account for His ways! When I saw the wonderful manner wherein He had dealt with you

¹ The preachers in the Dales for 1790-1 were George Holder, Jonathan Hern, John Wittam; William Blag-
horne, supernumerary. See letter of Oct. 30.

from your early years, when I talked with you in Jersey, and when I conversed more largely with you in Guernsey, I thought He was preparing you for a large sphere of action. Surely you was not then designed to be shut up in a little cottage and fully taken up with domestic cares! I was in hopes of seeing all the graces which He had given you employed in far other things. However, although I cannot deny that you are now acting in a lower sphere than was originally designed you, yet I trust you still enjoy communion with God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ. I hope you are still sensible wherever you go of the presence of the ever-blessed Trinity, and that you continually enjoy that loving-kindness which is better than life itself.

I wish you would inform me of your present outward and inward state. Have you all things that are needful for the body? Do your brethren and sisters treat you with tender affection or with coldness? Are the preachers free and loving to you? Is your soul as much alive as ever? Are the consolations of the Holy One small with you, or are they as frequent and as plentiful as ever? Write as particularly as you can to
Yours most affectionately.

To the Custom House

James Ireland, a wealthy merchant, lived at Brislington, near Bristol, where in 1789 Wesley says, 'I could willingly spend some time here; but I have none to spare'; and where he paid a visit on August 27, 1790. He was Fletcher's intimate friend, of whom he wrote, 'Such a soul I never knew; such a great man, in every sense of the word.' See *Journal*, viii. 11, 89.

This letter seems to have been returned to the dying man; and across it a Government official curtly wrote, 'No. M. W.' For the treatment of Fletcher, see letter of December 31, 1785.

CITY ROAD, November 14, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,—Two or three days ago Mr. Ireland sent me as a present two dozen of French claret, which I am ordered to drink during my present weakness. At the White Swan it was seized. Beg it may be restored to

Your obedient servant.

Whatever duty comes due I will see duly paid.

To Richard Whatcoat

Methodism had not only unfurled its banner in Virginia, but planted it in almost every country east of the Alleghanies, and was bearing it successfully to the heights of the western mountains. See Stevens's *American Methodism*, chap. xiv.; Phœbus's *Whatcoat*, p. 76; and letter of July 17, 1788.

[November, 1790.]

The work (*of the Lord*) in Virginia far exceeds anything I have heard or read of since the primitive times! There seems to be a general expectation of great things in the Church of God throughout our Connexion in these kingdoms. You, my brother, I trust, are all alive to bring sinners to Jesus Christ, and to spend and be spent in the glorious cause of the Anointed. O 'tis worth living for! Give my love to the preachers in your district.

Your brother in Christ.

To Adam Clarke

LONDON, November 26, 1790.

DEAR ADAM,—The account you send me of the continuance of the great work of God in Jersey gives me great satisfaction. To retain the grace of God is much more than to gain it: hardly one in three does this. And this should be strongly and explicitly urged on all who have tasted of perfect love. If we can prove that any of our Local Preachers or Leaders, either directly or indirectly, speak against it, let him be a Local Preacher or Leader no longer. I doubt whether he shall continue in the Society. Because he that can speak thus in our congregations cannot be an honest man. I wish Sister Clarke to do what she can, but no more than she can. Betsy Ritchie, Miss Johnson, and M. Clarke are women after my own heart. Last week I had an excellent letter from Mrs. Pawson (a glorious witness of full salvation), showing how impossible it is to retain pure love without growing therein.

Wishing you every blessing to you and all the family.—
I am, dear Adam,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Robert Carr Brackenbury

Brackenbury's health was still very feeble, and he had fixed his residence at Portsmouth. He was staying in Wesley's house next year at the time of the patriarch's death. See letter of September 15.

LONDON, December 7, 1790.

DEAR SIR,—It gave me pleasure to see your letter dated Portsmouth, and to hear that your health is better. I hope you will be able to spend a little time with us here. And if you choose to lodge in my house, I have a room at your service; and we have a family which I can recommend to all England as adorning the doctrine of God our Saviour.—I am, dear sir, Your very affectionate friend and brother.

To Sarah Mallet

'There is another letter, from Mr. Wesley to this young woman, a few days only before his death; but as it is written by another hand I have not published it.' Alas! See Taft's *Holy Women*, p. 90.

NEAR LONDON, December 13, 1790.

DEAR SALLY,—I am glad you put me in mind of the books. Brother George Whitfield had quite forgotten them. I will refresh his memory. Tell me of anything you want, and I love you too well to let you want long. Some time ago it seems you had suffered that word to slip out of your mind, 'My child, if thou wilt serve the Lord, prepare thy soul for temptation.' *Particularly if thou wilt exhort others to serve Him* then expect a flood of temptation. That which you mention is common to man; but when Satan attacks us so violently, he provokes to jealousy One that is stronger than he. I am glad that you have been *at and about Diss*, and there is a good understanding between you and your sister.¹ Let that be the only contention between you, which shall be most zealous and most humble. I was well pleased when together to find that you could speak to me without reserve, as I trust you will always do. For has not God given me to you for a tender guard of your youth? And I believe you will find few that will watch over you more tenderly than, dear Sally, Yours affectionately.

To Ann Bolton

LONDON, December 15, 1790.

MY DEAR SISTER,—There can be no possible reason to doubt concerning the happiness of that child. He did fear

¹ Elizabeth Reeve. See letter of July 31.

God, and according to his circumstances work righteousness. This is the essence of religion, according to St. Peter. His soul, therefore, was 'darkly safe with God,' although he was only under the Jewish dispensation.

When the Son of Man shall come in His glory and assign every man his own reward, that reward will undoubtedly be proportioned (1) to our inward holiness, our likeness to God; (2) to our works; and (3) to our sufferings. Therefore whatever you suffer in time you will be an unspeakable gainer in eternity. Many of your sufferings, perhaps the greatest part, are now past. But your joy is to come! Look up, my dear friend, look up! and see your crown before you! A little longer, and you shall drink of the rivers of pleasure that flow at God's right hand for evermore. Adieu!

To Mrs. Charles Wesley

WEST STREET, December 20, 1790.

MY DEAR SISTER,—As I do not have much money beforehand, I have not at present an hundred pounds in possession.¹ But I have desired Mr. Whitfield to gather up so much as soon as possible. I hope he will be able to do it in a week or two; and then you will be welcome to that or any other help that is in the power of

Your affectionate brother.

To Mrs. Wesley, In Chesterfield Street,
Marybone.

To Richard Rodda

LONDON [January], 1791.

DEAR RICHARD,—It was madness to make that matter up. I would rather have thrown it into Chancery.¹

Charles Bond is determined, it is plain, to sell the Methodists for a wife. I do not see how you can help it. Sammy and you have done your part. His blood is not upon your head.²

Perhaps greater consequences than yet appear may follow from the dissensions at Mr. Bayley's chapel.³ However, it is

¹ See letter of Dec. 21, 1788.

² See letter of Nov. 20, 1789, to him.

³ Samuel Bradburn was Rodda's colleague. Bond, fourth preacher in the Manchester Circuit, was sta-

tioned at Coventry in 1791, at Norwich in 1792, and in 1793 'desisted from travelling.' See letter of July 7, 1786.

⁴ Dr. Cornelius Bayley. See letter of Oct. 12, 1778.

your duty to go straight forward, breathing nothing but peace and love.

I do not depend upon taking any more journeys. But if my life is prolonged I shall probably be at Manchester about the usual time. Peace be with you all !—I am, dear brother,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Rodda, At the Preaching-house,
In Manchester.

To John Fry

In *A Concise Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. IV., chap. iv., is a history of the Quakers which says their first association was 'composed mostly of persons that seemed to be disordered in their brains; and hence they committed many enormities which the modern Quakers neither justify nor approve. For the greatest part of them were riotous and tumultuous in the highest degree.' Wesley had evidently talked the matter over with his Quaker friend John Fry and Dr. Hamilton. See letter of February 10, 1748.

CITY ROAD, January 1, 1791.

MY FRIEND,—The sum of what I said to you and to Dr. Hamilton was this: 'I will revise that part of the *Ecclesiastical History*; and if I am convinced any of it is wrong, I will openly retract it.' I have revised it again and again, but I am not convinced that any part of it is wrong; on the contrary, I am fully persuaded it is all the naked truth. What the Quakers (so called) *are* or *do now* is nothing to the purpose, I am thoroughly persuaded they *were* exactly such as they are described in this *History*. Your present summary exactly answers the account Barclay's *Apology* given in the 135th page of the *History*. O be content! I love you well; do not constrain me to speak. I do not want to say anything of George Fox; but I hope he was stark mad when he wrote that medley of nonsense, blasphemy, and scurrility styled his '*Great Mystery*.' But I love and esteem you and many of the present Quakers; and am
Your real friend.

To Adam Clarke

LONDON, January 3, 1791.

DEAR ADAM,—I suppose the account sent to Mr. Mather concerning your running so much in debt was not sent out of

love. I am glad you have cleared up the matter. So let it die and be forgot. But you startle me when you talk of grieving so much for the death of an infant.¹ This was certainly a proof of inordinate affection; and if you love them thus all your children will die. How did Mr. De Renty behave when he supposed his wife to be dying? This is a pattern for a Christian.

Be firm and duly attend St. Patrick's once a month. But you forgot to send me your thoughts on Magnetism.²

John Bredin is a weak brother. Let him not complain. He behaved ill both at Jersey and Guernsey. Pray let him behave well now; the past will be forgotten.—I am, dear Adam,
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Clarke, At the New Room,
Dublin.

PS. by James Rogers

I hope you received my second letter about poor Simmonds, or rather that of the stewards from Plymouth Dock, as I was sorry their former letter must have reached you too long before I had it in my power to contradict it.

It is wonderful how this report of your starving for want, &c., &c., in Dublin had arisen in the manner it seems to have been told our friend Mather. But I told Mr. Wesley at the time I was *confident* it was a mistake. It is well if some who thought, nay, often said: 'If such and such left us, the work of God as to temporals in Dublin *must* decline.' I say it is well if these are not the inventors of it. But, blessed be God, He will never be at loss for means to carry on His own work.

My wife joins in much love to you and yours, and all friends.—
I am yours, etc., etc. JAMES ROGERS.

To Thomas Taylor

The first part of *An Essay on the Liberty of Moral Agents*, extracted from a late author, appeared in the *Arminian Magazine* for January 1791, with a prefatory note by Wesley dated May 3, 1790: 'I do not remember to have ever seen a more strong and beautiful treatise on

¹ His eldest girl died on Dec. 16, and he was suffering from rheumatic affection in the head. See letter of Jan. 18 to Mrs. Clarke.
² See letters of April 14, 1790, and Feb. 9, 1791.

moral liberty than the following ; which I therefore earnestly recommend to the consideration of all those who desire to vindicate the ways of God with man.' It ran through five monthly numbers. For Dr. King's book, see letter of December 11, 1730.

LONDON, January 6, 1791.

DEAR TOMMY,—With regard to the powerful workings of the Spirit, I think those words of our Lord are chiefly to be understood : ' The wind bloweth where it listeth ; Thou hearest the sound thereof ' (thou art sure of the fact), ' but canst not tell whence it cometh, or whither it goeth.'

Make your Yearly Subscription when you see best, only take care it does not interfere with any other subscription.

The tract of Archbishop King has been particularly admired by many persons of excellent sense. I do not admire it so much as they do ; but I like it well. Yet I have corrected a far better tract on the subject, probably the last I shall have to publish.

Indeed, I hope I shall not live to be useless. I wish you and yours many happy years ; and am, dear Tommy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Ann Bolton

This is the last letter of a long and tender correspondence. Adam Clarke had one hundred of Wesley's letters to her. Miss Bolton married Mr. Conibeer in 1792. See Bulmer's *Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Mortimer* (2nd ed.), pp. 341, 358.

LONDON, January 12, 1791.

MY DEAR NANCY,—I thank you for your welcome present, and rejoice to hear that your health is better. What is it which is good for us that our Lord will not give if we can but trust in Him ? These last four days I have had better health than I had for several months before. Only my sight continues much as it was. But good is the work of the Lord !—I am,
my dear Nancy,

Affectionately yours.

To Edward Lewly

LONDON, January 12, 1791.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I do not believe any single person in your Select Society scruples saying,

Every moment, Lord, I need
The merit of thy death.

This is clearly determined in the *Thoughts upon Christian Perfection*. But who expects common people to speak accurately? And how easy is it to entangle them in their talk! I am afraid some have done this already. A man that is not a thorough friend to Christian Perfection will easily puzzle others, and thereby weaken if not destroy any Select Society. I doubt this has been the case with you. That Society was in a lively state and well united together when I was last at Birmingham. My health has been better for a few days than it has been for several months. Peace be with all your spirits! I am
Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Edward Lewly,
Birmingham.

To Henry Anderson

Anderson had been working for three years in the villages around Pocklington, and felt that he ought to become an itinerant. The preachers in the circuit advised him to write to Wesley. In 1791 'Henry Anderson of the Pocklington Circuit' is the last in 'A List of the Preachers that were received on trial at this Conference, but were not immediately wanted.' In December he was sent to Northampton, and did valuable service. He died at Hull in 1843. See *Methodist Magazine*, 1847, pp. 521-7.

NEAR LONDON, January 13, 1791.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—The speaking to a congregation in the name of Christ is a thing of no small importance. You are therefore in the right, before you undertake it, to consider the matter well. Indeed, it may not be improper to speak a little now when opportunity offers. But I do not advise you to give yourself up to the work till you are proposed and approved at the next Conference.—I am

Your friend and brother.

To Mr. Henry Anderson, At Kilham,
Near Malton, Yorkshire.

To Mrs. Adam Clarke

LONDON, January 18, 1791.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Before this time I hope God has heard the prayers and given Brother Clarke a little more ease. I

should suspect a dropsy in the brain, which, though formerly judged incurable, has lately been cured.

Both Brother Clarke and you have large proofs that whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth.¹ He knoweth the way whence you go ; when you have been tried, you shall come forth as gold.

I wonder at the folly of Mr. V. Surely he is a very weak man. But I shall judge better when I see his performances. Peace be multiplied again !—I am, my dear sister,

Ever yours.

To James Macdonald

LONDON, January 18, 1791.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am glad to hear that the work of God is so prosperous at Newry. Continue to seek Him by fasting, and you shall see still greater things than these. Take care to keep as exact an account as you can of everything that occurs. The verses are worthy to be inserted in the *Arminian Magazine*. I should be glad to be acquainted with the author of them ; but I hardly think either she or you will see me any more in this world.²

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Robert Dall

Robert Dall was at Kelso. Joseph Cole was stationed in Edinburgh, where an artist painted him walking with Wesley and Hamilton. His preaching was marked by simplicity, spirituality, energy, and unction ; and his recollections of Wesley awoke the deepest feelings of veneration and delight, of gratitude and praise. For the *Dialogus*, which was printed in 1741, see *Works*, x. 259–66 ; *Green's Bibliography*, No. 24.

LONDON, January 19, 1791.

DEAR ROBERT,—Certainly Calvinism is the direct antidote to Methodism—that is, heart religion, and I think it would not be amiss if you presented, where you see proper, the *Dialogue between a Predestinarian and his Friend*.

I am glad you have wrote to Joseph Cole. His visit to Melrose will not be in vain. And it is a good omen that God has provided you with an able curate.

¹ See letters of Jan. 3 and Feb. 9. ² See letter of Oct. 23, 1790.

Although my health is better now for several days than it has been for several months, yet I much doubt whether I shall attempt to cross the sea any more ; my last voyage discomposed me so much. But if I cannot reach Ireland, I am in hope my strength will suffice for visiting Scotland. Probably we shall have a little conference at Edinburgh in spring.—I am, with love to Sister Dall, dear Robert,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To William Torrie

Torrie was born near Forres in the North of Scotland. He ran away from home when a boy and enlisted. When serving with his regiment in the Channel Islands he became an adherent of Wesley's. He was afterwards master gunner at Charlemont Fort, where he started a free school for poor children, which he conducted in his spare time and at his own expense. He declined a commission, as he could not afford it, and at the same time carry on his school, which he continued until compelled by old age to give it up. He died on June 11, 1840, at the age of eighty-three. He had a stroke two and a half years earlier while giving out his text (Jeremiah xxiii. 5, 6) in Moy Wesleyan Chapel.

LONDON, January 19, 1791.

MY DEAR BROTHER TORRIE,—I wish John Philips well, and do not wish to hinder his doing all the good he can. Therefore I commend you for dealing so tenderly with him, and advise you to do so still, even if he should speak unkindly either to you or of you. But I will not blame you either for preaching in the morning or for meeting a class.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Thomas Greathead

Thomas Greathead was a draper at Sheerness. His grandson, of the same name, died at Caversham, Natal.

LONDON, January 22, 1791.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I am half blind and half lame ; but by the help of God I creep on still. You have great reason to thank Him for the blessings He hath given you from your youth up until now. Undoubtedly many of these were sent, as you observe, in answer to the prayers of your good mother. Now, do all the good you can to your poor neighbours. A word spoken in season, how good is it. Wishing you and yours all happiness, I am

Your affectionate brother.

To John Booth

A note on the back of the letter says : ' This was given me by Mr. Booth, preacher, to keep in my museam (*sic.*) as the last letter but one Mr. Wesley wrote.' That description is not correct, as the following letters show.

LONDON, January 29, 1791.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You give me a very agreeable account of the progress of the work of God in your circuit. As to the poor self-conceited enthusiasts in Keighley, it seems best that you should never name them in public, but when occasion offers strike at the root of their errors by clearly proving the truth which they deny ; and whenever you meet with any of them in private, then speak and spare not. Whenever you have opportunity of speaking to believers, urge them to go on to perfection. Spare no pains ; and God, our own God, shall give you His blessing !—I am

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. John Booth, At the Preaching-house,
In Keighley, Yorkshire.

To Thomas Broadbent

Broadbent was at this time Wesley's Assistant at Bury. In 1792 he was appointed to King's Lynn. He became a supernumerary at Thetford in 1798, ceased to be a preacher in 1799, and appears to have become a merchant in King's Lynn.

LONDON, January 29, 1791.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—You have great reason to praise God that He gives a blessing to your labours. So He will more and more if you do not entangle yourself with the affairs of this life. If you seek your happiness in God alone, you will never be disappointed : if in anything else, you surely will ; for all creatures are broken cisterns. Let your eye be single. Seek one thing—to save your own soul and those that hear you.—I am, dear Tommy, Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Alice Cambridge

Alice Cambridge joined the Methodists in Bandon soon after the death of her mother in 1780, and was very zealous in inviting friends and neighbours to the services. She had begun to pray and exhort with

much success ; but many judged her work irregular. She therefore wrote to Wesley for advice. She became a most popular and useful evangelist. See Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, ii. 400.

LONDON, *January 31, 1791.*

MY DEAR SISTER,—I received your letter an hour ago. I thank you for writing so largely and so freely ; do so always to me as your friend, as one that loves you well. Mr. Barber has the glory of God at heart ; and so have his fellow labourers.¹ Give them all honour, and obey them in all things as far as conscience permits. But it will not permit you to be silent when God commands you to speak : yet I would have you give as little offence as possible ; and therefore I would advise you not to speak at any place where a preacher is speaking at the same time, lest you should draw away his hearers. Also avoid the first appearance of pride or magnifying yourself. If you want books or anything, let me know ; I have your happiness much at heart. During the little time I have to stay on earth pray for

Your affectionate brother.

To Ezekiel Cooper, of Philadelphia

This was the last letter from Wesley to the United States. Cooper was appointed Editor and General Book Steward in 1798, so that he was in a position to carry out Wesley's suggestion.

NEAR LONDON, *February 1, 1791.*

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Those that desire to write or say anything to me have no time to lose ; for time has shaken me by the hand and death is not far behind. But I have reason to be thankful for the time that is past : I felt few of the infirmities of old age for fourscore and six years. It was not till a year and a half ago that my strength and my sight failed. And still I am enabled to scrawl a little, and to creep, though I cannot run. Probably I should not be able to do so much did not many of you assist me by your prayers.

I have given a distinct account of the work of God which has been wrought in Britain and Ireland for more than half a century. We want some of you to give us a connected relation of what our Lord has been doing in America from the time that

¹ Thomas Barber had evidently come from Carlow to Bandon.

Richard Boardman accepted the invitation and left his country to serve you. See that you never give place to one thought of separating from your brethren in Europe. Lose no opportunity of declaring to all men that the Methodists are one people in all the world ; and that it is their full determination so to continue,

Though mountains rise, and oceans roll,
To sever us in vain.

To the care of our common Lord I commit you ; and am
Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Henry Moore

Joseph Easterbrook was vicar of Temple Church, Bristol. A funeral sermon was preached for him by Henry Moore. See *Journal*, viii. 47 ; and letter of March 20, 1768.

LONDON, February 6, 1791.

MY DEAR HENRY,—So good Mr. Easterbrook has got the start of us. Let us follow him as he followed Christ. Let the service begin at [ten or eleven] if the leaders think it best. I hope to be in Bath the first Monday in March (to-morrow three weeks) ; and am, with love to my dear Nancy,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mr. Henry Moore, At the New Room,
Bristol.

To Mr. York

Thomas Jackson wrote in 1831 : ' The memorandum at the bottom of this letter in all probability was the last line Mr. Wesley ever wrote. It bears the date of February 28, and he died on the 2nd of March, only two days afterwards. The original letter, as a curiosity, was bequeathed to the late Rev. Samuel Bradburn ; and is now in the possession of his daughter, Miss Eliza Weaver Bradburn, by whose permission it was transcribed.'

LONDON, February 6, 1791.

DEAR SIR,—On Wednesday, March the 17th, I purpose, if God permit, to come from Gloucester to Worcester ; and on Thursday, the 18th to Stourport. If our friends at Worcester are displeased, we cannot help it. Wishing you and yours all happiness, I am, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

February 28. This morning I found this in my bureau.

To Mr. York, At Stourport.

To Thomas Roberts

LONDON, February 8, 1791.

MY DEAR BROTHER,¹—Who was it opposed your reducing the preachers in the circuit to two? and on what pretence? We must needs reduce all our expenses everywhere as far as possible. You must never leave off till you carry this point and constitute bands in each large Society. When the lecture begins at Carmarthen, it will then be time enough to prevent any ill effects of it. I am glad to hear your journey home has not been in vain. My best wishes attend my friends at Traison and Langwair.²—I am, dear Tommy, Yours, &c.

To Adam Clarke

The signature only of this letter is in Wesley's handwriting, and that is tremulous.

LONDON, February 9, 1791.

DEAR ADAM,—You have great reason to bless God for giving you strength according to your day.³ He has indeed supported you in a wonderful manner under these complicated afflictions. You may well say, 'I will put my trust in the Lord as long as I live.' I will desire Dr. Whitehead to consider your case and give you his thoughts upon it. I am not afraid of your doing too little, but too much. I am in continual danger of this. Do a little at a time, that you may do more. My love to Sister Cookman and Boyle⁴; but it is a doubt with me whether I shall cross the seas any more.

What preacher was it who first omitted meeting the Select Society? I wonder it did not destroy the work!

You have done right in setting up the Strangers' (Friend) Society. It is an excellent institution.

I am quite at a loss concerning Mr. Madan. I know not what to think of him. Send me your best thoughts concerning him. Let not the excluded preachers by any means creep in again. In any wise, write, and send me your thoughts on Animal Magnetism.⁵ I set my face against that device of Satan. Two of our preachers here are in that Satanic delusion;

¹ See letter of Oct. 23, 1790.² Trecwn and Llwynygwafr. See *Journal*, vii. 426-7.³ See letter of Jan. 18.⁴ See letters of March 28, 1777, and May 2, 1787; and Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, i. 428.⁵ See letter of Jan. 3.

but if they persist to defend it, I must drop them. I know its principles full well. With much love to your wife, I am, my dear Adam,
Your affectionate brother.

To Thomas Taylor

LONDON, February 13, 1791.

DEAR TOMMY,—The doubt is whether the remedy would not propagate the diseases by making many people curious to understand it who never thought of it before. Remember the madman's words,

Kill your enemies ? Kill a fool's head of your own.
They will die of themselves if you let them alone.

I take knowledge that you have been Dissenter. Several clergymen at this day do good both to the cause of God in general and to the Methodist in particular—and they that hurt us do it not as clergymen but as Calvinist clergymen. I will not blame any of my preachers for mildly warning our people of them. Unstable Methodists will always be subject to the temptation of sermon-hunting. I do not advise our people to go to the Low Church.¹ I shall write no plan till I know how my strength turns out ; perhaps I may do it when I come to Bristol.² Peace be with you and yours !—I am, dear Tommy,
Yours affectionately.

To Sarah Rutter

NEAR LONDON, February 17, 1791.

MY DEAR SISTER,—You have abundant reason to praise God, not on your own account only, for enabling you to enter into the rest that remaineth for the people of God, but likewise on the account of your companions on whom He hath poured the dew of His blessing. You have cause particularly to rejoice over the little ones.³ Surely this is a token for good both to this and to the rising generation. I have ordered some Hymns and other little books to be sent down, which you will [use] as you see good. Be zealous ! Be active ! Time is short ! Peace be with all your spirits !—I am, dear Sally,

Yours affectionately.

¹ The Low Church in Hull.

letter of Feb. 18.

² This letter was dictated. See

³ See letter of Oct. 18, 1790.

To Francis Wrigley

The signature only of this letter is in Wesley's handwriting. See next letter and that of February 13.

LONDON, February 18, 1791.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—As yet I cannot at all judge whether I shall be able to take my usual turn or not! I am a little stronger than I was, but not much, and my sight is rather better than worse. Probably in a month you may have a determinate answer from, dear Francis,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Susanna Knapp

Miss Knapp had written to Wesley on February 16, 'We are sorry to find by your last that your strength so visibly fails you; and that we are put off this year, like the last, with one night only.' She hoped that Wesley might be able to spare a second night to his eager friends. The visit was never paid. Miss Knapp came up to London on her old friend's death: 'I reached London just time enough for the funeral; and soon after I had breakfasted (for I was there about seven o'clock in the morning) went to the chapel where our dear and honoured father lay. We had but a transient view of him, being obliged to pass by so quick by reason of the vast number of people behind and before us; but it was the most affecting sight my eyes ever saw. The number of people that went to see the remains of our much-lamented friend is incredible. I heard there was one day supposed to be ten thousand.' She attended a love-feast at City Road Chapel, where a letter was read from Dr. Coke, 'which contained a most wonderful account of the success of the gospel in America.' At a friend's house she was at tea with Miss Bolton and Miss Ritchie, who was at Camberwell for the benefit of her health, 'much impaired by her close attention on Mr. Wesley while ill.' Miss Knapp never married. She died on October 4, 1856, and was laid in the room once sacred to Wesley, where hundreds of sorrowing friends from Worcester came to gaze upon one who had won the love and esteem of all. Her portrait is still treasured; with regular features, sparkling eyes, she wears a high Quaker cap, and a white kerchief crossed over her breast.

A facsimile of this letter is given in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* for 1904, p. 594.

LONDON, February 19, 1791.

MY DEAR SUKY,—As the state of my health is exceeding wavering and waxes worse, I cannot yet lay down any plans for my future journeys.¹ Indeed, I purpose, if God permit, to

¹ See previous letter.

set out for Bristol on the 28th instant ; but how much further I shall be able to go I cannot yet determine. If I am pretty well, I hope to be at Worcester about the 22nd of March. To find you and yours in health of body and mind will be a great pleasure to, my dear Suky,

Yours affectionately.

To John Ogilvie

LONDON, February 21, 1791.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I have not been well for a few days ; but I am now by the blessing of God much recovered. It should be matter of great thankfulness that your wife and you were both enabled to give that lovely child to God. We are well assured that He does all things well—all things for our profit, that we may be partakers of His holiness. It is not improbable that I may look upon you in the spring.¹ Peace be with your spirits !—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Walter Churchey

The signature of this letter is Wesley's ; the rest is in another hand.

LONDON, February 22, 1791.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I have the MSS. I have not seen Mr. Cowper.² Next week I hope to be at Bristol.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Mr. Churchey, Near Hay, Brecon.

To William Wilberforce

Wesley's Diary for February 22 shows that Miss Ritchie read to him before breakfast the life of a negro slave, *Gustavus Vassa*, to which he had been one of the subscribers. He read it in his chaise on the way to Leatherhead, where he preached his last sermon in the house of Mr. Belson, and apparently on the Thursday morning as they drove to Balham from Mickleham, where he had spent the night at the Vicarage of the Rev. Thomas Roger Filewood, who held the living from 1771-1802. He arrived at 4.30 and took tea and supper there. He had visited him and Mr. Belson on January 26 on his last visit to Dorking. Vassa, born in Africa in 1745, was kidnapped and sold for a slave in Barbados. In 1757 his master sent him to England, and on the voyage

¹ Ogilvie was second preacher at Alnwick.

² See letter of Dec. 6, 1788.

the captain named him 'Gustavus Vasa.' He was baptized in St. Margaret's, Westminster, in 1759, and had many adventures in our Navy and in the West Indies. The statement in his book (ii. 77, 205), that no black man's testimony is admitted in the West Indies against any white man whatever made a great impression on Wesley.

Professor Coupland says this letter (which is docketed by Wilberforce, 'John Wesley, his last words. Slave trade') echoed Wilberforce's own inmost convictions. 'In the same spirit in which the old crusader put off his armour the young crusader girded his on.' A few days before the Abolition debate in 1791 he writes: 'May I look to Him for wisdom and strength and the power of persuasion. And ascribe to Him all the praise if I succeed; and if I fail, say from the heart, "Thy will be done."' On April 20 the Commons rejected Wilberforce's motion by 163 votes to 88; though Pitt, Fox, and Burke spoke in its favour, and it was not till 1807 that the great victory was won. See *Journal*, viii. 127-8; Wilberforce: *A Narrative*, p. 141; and letter to Granville Sharp on October 11, 1787.

BALAM, February 24, 1791.

DEAR SIR,—Unless the divine power has raised you up to be as *Athanasius contra mundum*,¹ I see not how you can go through your glorious enterprise in opposing that execrable villany, which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature. Unless God has raised you up for this very thing, you will be worn out by the opposition of men and devils. But if God be for you, who can be against you? Are all of them together stronger than God? O be not weary of well doing! Go on, in the name of God and in the power of His might, till even American slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish away before it.

Reading this morning a tract wrote by a poor African, I was particularly struck by that circumstance, that a man who has a black skin, being wronged or outraged by a white man, can have no redress; it being a *law* in all our Colonies that the *oath* of a black against a white goes for nothing. What villany is this!

That He who has guided you from youth up may continue to strengthen you in this and all things is the prayer of, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant.

¹ 'Athanasius against the world.'

A FINAL NOTE

WESLEY'S last sermon on February 23 was followed next day by his last letter. His work was done. The following day found him back at City Road, and on March 2, 1791, a week after he had preached at Leatherhead, he died as he wished, 'without a lingering groan.'

A closing note may gather up some impressions produced on the mind of one who may almost claim, whilst editing these volumes, to have spent years in Wesley's company. His letters fill out the portrait given in his *Journal*. We really come closer to him here, for he lays bare his heart in many intimate outpourings to friends whom he loved and trusted. Southey's misreading of his motives at certain remarkable conjunctions of his life, as prompted by an ambitious temper, and a pride of heart, which could not have been contented with holding a secondary place, is completely answered as we read these pages. His whole soul was set on the revival of pure religion. For that he lived with an intensity of zeal which never flagged. He lost no opportunity of promoting that end; he welcomed every kindred spirit as a colleague. His visits to all parts of the kingdom kindled the fire in others, and his letters kept it burning by wise and loving counsel and encouragement.

It is astonishing to see how he remembered men, women and children whom he met in so many places, and what an interest he took in their daily life. His intimate knowledge of his preachers enabled him to use their various gifts to the utmost advantage. He moved amongst them as a father. He stimulated their studies, guided their reading, took an interest in their families, and did everything in his power to appoint them to the places where they could do their best service. He had many friends in high places, and treated them with the same candour as he treated all with whom he was associated. Humble folk always attracted him. He

told a friend, on September 20, 1764: 'I *bear* the rich, and love the poor; therefore I spend *almost all* my time with them.' There was no discharge from his labours. He fully realized his early resolve, 'I mean to be busy as long as I live.' He was welcomed wherever he went, and was consulted by a host of men and women in their perplexities. On April 6, 1789, he says he is 'overborne with letters.' The future of Methodism was constantly before his mind. His love for the Church of England never wavered, and he did everything in his power to maintain close relations between his Societies and the Church.

Charles Wesley once said, 'All the difference between my brother and me was that my brother's first object was the Methodists and then the Church: mine was first the Church and then the Methodists. Our different judgement of persons was owing to our different tempers, his all hopes and mine all fears.' Charles told James Hutton, on July 30, 1786, that the old preachers and their partisans had come to the Conference, then meeting in Bristol, fully resolved on separation. John Atlay 'fairly talked them down,' and the preachers were unanimous for continuing in the Old Ship. Archbishop Potter had told Charles Wesley long before that if the Methodists were attached to the Church they might 'leaven the whole,' but Charles 'feared that their Lordships cared for none of these things. Still, I should hope if God raised up but one Primitive Bishop and commanded the porter to open the door.'

Wesley had some sharp encounters with stout opponents, but he never lost his temper. Charles Wesley told James Hutton on October 17, 1773, 'I never yet heard him speak one unkind word of Mr. Hill or Mr. Toplady.' His own religion was based on deep conviction and ever-ripening personal experience, and it was his lifelong business to share it with all that he could reach and influence in that world which he had early learnt to look upon as his parish. When he left it he had enlisted and inspired a great host of kindred spirits on both sides of the Atlantic who shared his purposes, and amid their sorrow for his departure were still able to join in his death-bed cry, 'The best of all is, God is with us.'

APPENDIX

SOME important originals which have come to light since the sheets were struck off are here given, with a few additions and corrections made from other autograph letters. Mr. Lamplough now has 175 and Dr. Tipple 54 letters.

To Susanna Wesley.

Samuel Wesley died on April 25, 1735. This important letter, only discovered in April 1931, shows how his son John was taking charge of the publication of his father's book on Job (see letter of October 15, 1735). William Bowyer of London was the printer, and B. Cole engraved the full-page plates of Behemoth, Leviathan and the Horse. I think 'Job's Disease' did not appear in the book.

Oxon, February 14, 1734/5.

DEAR MOTHER,—As the Jews were obliged to adhere even to their ritual law, at those very times when it was most inconvenient, but Christians are not, so far we have a liberty which they wanted: extraordinary occasions being a dispensation to us (but not to them) from any external ordinance.

It seems therefore (to sum up the matter) that this liberty may (with caution) be added to the rest, and so the Christians enjoy (1) a liberty from wilful sin, which natural men have not; (2) a liberty from slavish fears, which awakened sinners have not; (3) a liberty in things of an indifferent nature, which the farther anyone advances in Christianity, is enlarged the more—a confirmed Christian being able to use many things to the glory of God which a weak one cannot. This liberty therefore infant Christians have not.

(But may there not be a sort of liberty, just opposite to this, which weak Christians have, and confirmed ones have not, viz. a liberty to indulge themselves in some particulars, wherein they are not yet strong enough to deny themselves, as superfluous cloths, furniture, &c., which when they are stronger, and consequently able, they too will be obliged to renounce?)

(4) A liberty as to external ordinances, to set them aside *pro tempore*, on extraordinary occasions. This the Jews had not.

(5) A liberty as to Rules : (i) to lay aside those prudential rules which we no longer need ; (ii) to suspend those we do need upon extraordinary occasions, and (iii) to alter those we do not either lay aside or suspend continually, as the state of our soul alters. Whether this liberty does not belong (in some measure and under due restrictions) to all Christians ?

I should be exceeding glad to know (1) who those writers are whom you term Perfectionists ? (2) what those tracts are which distinguish them from other writers ? and (3) what is good therein and what bad ?

I have given order for the payment of six pounds three shillings to my father's engraver for the plates he has done already, and will direct Mr. Bowyer to send the proofs of them with the remainder of the sheets. If they want me, I can give them the meeting at any time. One copy of ' Job's Disease ' I have : I will read it over next week and see if it be perfect. We join in duty to my father and you.—I am, dear mother,

Your dutiful son.

To Mrs. Wesley, At Epworth,
To be left at the Posthouse,
In Gainsbro', Lincolnshire.

Mrs. Wesley has written her notes for an answer on the flyleaf :

The visible order of providence is to be observed by all whether strong or weak, in the faith, (now in order to do this [erased]) and this can't be done nor Civil Government be established and the due subservience of one man to another preserved without ensigns of authority, and difference in houses, furniture and apparel, all which are marks of distinction, and as such, in obedience to the will of God and not for vain glory, they ought to be used, and he that breaks his rank and goes out of character so far as he does so, so far he breaks the eternal order of the universe and abuses his Christian liberty.

To Samuel Furly

Two letters to Samuel Furly, which appeared in *W.H.S.* xvii. 177-8, were received too late to be put into chronological order in vol. iii. 141 ; see letter, iii. 139-40, to Blackwell.

PORT ISAAC, September 16, 1755.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Psalm lxxvi. 10. The fierceness of man shall turn to His praise, and the remainder thereof He shall restrain.

This circumstance is no proof that you did wrong, but rather a proof that you did right.

Otherwise the Prince of this world would not have been so much alarmed. You did well to make the trial; and the trial having been made, you now do well to desist. In due time that little meeting will begin again. But we cannot force the course of the river. Either God will move the heart of some magistrate to interpose, or the waves will sink of themselves. Pray and be still before God.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Samuel Furly

Wesley was answering Dr. Taylor of Norwich. See iii. 180, 208.

LONDON, March 8, 1757.

DEAR SAMMY,—I have preached on that subject again and again, and shall do when it comes my way. Pray look into Mr. Taylor's note on that verse of 2 Tim. : 'Taken captive at his will.' Consult the book and tell me whether his assertion be true or false.

Hutcheson's *Moral Philosophy* is a solemn trifle. His Latin is not easy and natural. It is abundantly too laboured, and thence less easy to be understood. This is an essential defect in his language.

Have not time? Why have you not time? When I was at the University, I had always time to do whatever I would. And so I should now, but that

*Aliena negotia centum
Per caput, et circum saliunt latus.*¹

Last week you was in great danger. T. Walsh and I were within twelve miles of Cambridge. But the Norwich coach

¹ Horace, *Satires*, ii. 6, 33-4 : 'Circa saliunt latus' : 'A hundred different matters encompass me on every side.'

could not go out of its way. So you escaped. Above all knowledge, know Christ.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To Matthew Lowes

This letter appears in vol. iv. 180, but is given here also because the two sentences in brackets were not in that copy. The fuller version came to hand after the other was printed.

LONDON, March 11, 1762.

DEAR MATTHEW,—I have enclosed that part of the Minutes of the Conference which relates to discipline. In the other paper [which you may read in every society, just before you visit the classes] you see the design of the general yearly collection, to which *every* Methodist in England is to contribute something. If there is any who cannot give an half-penny in a year, another will give it for him.

[I believe no money was put to any other use than that for which it was allotted at the Conference. Something was allotted for Whitehaven ; I can't now remember how much.] The Society here has subscribed near three hundred pounds.—
I am Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Samuel Furly

BRISTOL, March 20, 1762.

DEAR SAMMY,—You who have conversed with him are the best judge of Mr. Hollin's present state. So I refer the matter to the Assistant and you. Satisfy yourselves, and you satisfy me.

Still, Sammy, I take knowledge, you are a young man ; and as such, extremely peremptory. So was I, till I was more than thirty years old. So I may well make allowance for you. I was likewise as much *bigoted* to my own opinions as you can be for your life ; that is, I thought them deeply *important*, and that all contrary opinions were damnable errors. Have patience and you will see farther. In a few years you will find out that neither these are half so *necessary* to salvation, nor those half so destructive as you now imagine.

I know none that denies, that every true saint will *die at the feet of mercy*, and will stand, even at the day of Judgement,

as a *redeemed sinner*. But I deny, that any *justified* believer has any *real guilt*. Guilt cannot consist with justification : they are directly opposite to each other. And yet I believe, that a truly sanctified person does involuntarily fall short in divers instances of the rule marked out in the 13th chapter to the Corinthians. And that on *this* account, they continually need their Advocate with the Father. And I never talked with one person who denied it. I do not believe there is one such in the London Society ; but there are many who abound in bowels of mercy and tenderness towards all men. I know many thousands of awakened and believing souls ; but I know *none like them*. Sometimes I have disliked some of their opinions, and frequently some of their expressions. But I admire their tempers ; and their holy, unblamable, useful lives adorn the Doctrine of God our Saviour. On Him alone they depend. He is their God and their all. They live in Him and walk in Him. They are filled and clothed with humility. They spread the knowledge and love of Christ wherever they converse. And to these chiefly it is owing, that within this year, near four hundred members are added to that Society.

General charges prove nothing. When my brother has told me ten times, ' You are credulous,' I have asked, ' Show me the instances.' He could not do it. No, nor any man else. Indeed, jealousy and suspiciousness I defy and abhor, as I do hell-fire. But I believe nothing, great or small, without such kind of proof as the nature of the thing allows.

How does Mr. Venn go on, in his soul and in his labours ? And how are you employing yourself ? O seek, enjoy Christ alone.—I am, with love to Nancy, dear Sammy,

Your affectionate brother.

I expect to be at Mr. Bennet's, in Boughton, near Chester, on the 31st instant, in my way to Ireland.

Cross Post

To the Rev. Mr. Furly,

At Kippax, near Ferrybridge, Yorkshire.

Furly endorsed it : ' On ye Contr[oversy], of Perf[ection].'

To John Heald

LONDON, January 19, 1773.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I say again, Pay what you please *next year* ; but help me *this year*. It must be now or never : (1) because what is already subscribed is not claimable, unless the whole debt can be cleared *this year* ; (2) because I do not purpose concerning myself any more with these matters after the next Conference.

Is it fit for *me* to ask a Methodist *twice* for anything in his power ?

To Mr. John Heald,
In Dewsbury, Yorkshire.

To Mrs. Wesley

This letter has appeared in part under the date below. The passages in square brackets are added from the original.

BRISTOL, October 2, 1778.

As it is doubtful, considering your age and mine, whether we may meet any more in this world, I think it right to tell you my mind once for all without either anger or bitterness.

[Some years since you quitted my house at London, without my consent or knowledge, and declared you would come thither no more. After you had absented yourself from me for many months, I received you again, without one harsh word. Four years ago you quitted my house at Bristol, without my consent or knowledge, and declared to Mr. Lewis, you would come thither no more.]

Ever since (and indeed long before) you have made my faults the constant matter of your conversation. Now suppose an husband has many faults, is it the part of a prudent wife to publish or to conceal them ?

You have published my (real or supposed) faults not to one or two intimates only (though perhaps that would have been too much), but to all Bristol, to all London, to all England, to all Ireland. Yea, you did whatever in *you* lay to publish them to all the world.

[You purposely and deliberately published them to all those in particular whom you knew or believed to be prejudiced

against me, to Moravians, Quakers, Anabaptists; Calvinists, Patriots (so-called), Mr. Hill, Mr. Toplady:] designing hereby to put a sword into my enemies' hand.

[Hereby (to set myself out of the question) you have hurt many of their souls exceedingly; so much, that if any of them perish, their blood will be upon *your* head. You have set many of them more than ever against the King, and against all true religion. You have laid innumerable stumbling-blocks in the way, both of the wise and the unwise. You have served the cause, and increased the number of rebels, deists, atheists; and weakened the hands of those that love and fear God.]

If you were to live a thousand years [twice told], you could not undo the mischief which you have done. And till you have done all you can towards it, I bid you Farewell!

To Mrs. Wesley,
In Stokescroft.

To Robert Carr Brackenbury

On Sunday, July 8, Wesley preached in Mr. Dodwell's church at Welby. See *Journal* vi. 328.

WELBY, July 9, 1781.

DEAR SIR,—I am glad that I called on Saturday morning at Raithby, and had a little time with Mrs. B. alone. I was agreeably surprised at her sweetness of temper, and at the open, artless account she gave of her experience, especially as it will enable me to say more to many of my friends than otherwise I could have done. I never found so much love for her before, or so strong an hope, that you will strengthen each other's hands in God, and if anything is wanting yet, to make her a pattern to all that are round about her, this also God will supply in due season. What a proof we had the other day that He heareth the prayer. Arguments availed nothing with Rob. Heywood's daughter. She was utterly resolved not to part with her idol, but to marry him next week. But after five minutes' prayer, her heart was changed and she determined 'to see him no more.' Who is so great a God as our God? To His care I commit Mrs. B. and you, and am, dear sir,

Your affectionate brother and servant.

To Robert Brackenbury, Esq.,
At Raithby, near Spilsby.

To Sarah Baker

Miss Baker was now living at Cowbridge. William Saunders had just been reappointed for a second year to Glamorgan with William Holmes as his colleague instead of James Perfect, who had desisted from travelling, and with whom Wesley was evidently glad to part. See letters of October 27, 1784, and August 26, 1788.

LONDON, July 30, 1785.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Mr. Sanders earnestly entreated that he might not return to Wales. But when I insisted upon it he consented. And his fellow-labourer is full as sensible as himself, and as much devoted to God, totally different from that noisy, boisterous, self-conceited wretch, who has now no more place amongst us. Although we have expelled him out of our Connexion, not for vanity and self-sufficiency (*shocking* as it was), but for repeated acts of immodesty, such as I could not name to a woman.

Now go on in the Lord, and in the power of His might ! Be zealous, be active for God ! Feed the lambs ! Put forth all your strength ! Yet a little while, and the Great Shepherd will give you a full reward !—I am, my dear Sally,

Yours affectionately.

To Samuel Hoare

This letter was not known to exist when reference was made to it on p. 6. Anthony Benezet's (1713–84) writings on slavery greatly influenced Clarkson.

ISLE OF GUERNSEY, August 18, 1787.

GENTLEMEN,—A week or two ago I was favoured with a letter from Mr. Clarkson, informing me of his truly Christian design, to procure, if possible, an Act of Parliament for the abolition of slavery in our Plantations. I have long wished for the rolling away of this reproach from us, a reproach not only to religion, but to humanity itself. Especially when I read Mr. Benezet's tracts, and what Mr. Sharp has written upon the subject. My friends in America are of the same mind. They have already emancipated several hundred of the poor negroes, and are setting more and more at liberty every day, as fast as they can do it with any tolerable convenience. This is making a little stand against this shocking abomination ; but

Mr. Clarkson's design strikes at the root of it. And if it can be put in execution will be a lasting honour to the British nation. It is with great satisfaction that I learn so many of you are determined to support him. But without doubt, you, you [may] expect to meet with rough and violent opposition. For the slave-holders are a numerous, a wealthy, and consequently a very powerful body. And when you bring their craft into danger, do you not touch the apple of their eye? Will they not then raise all their forces against you and summon their friends from every side? And will they not employ hireling writers in abundance, who will treat you without either justice or mercy? But, I trust, Gentlemen, you will not be affrighted at this: no, not when some of your Friends turn against you: perhaps some who have made the warmest professions of goodwill, and the strongest promises of assisting you. I trust you will not be discouraged thereby; but rather more resolute and determined. I allow, with men this is impossible; but we know all things are possible with God! What little I can do to promote this excellent work I shall do with pleasure. I will print a large edition of the tract I wrote some years since, *Thoughts upon Slavery*, and send it (which I have an opportunity of doing once a month) to all my friends in Great Britain and Ireland; adding a few words in favour of your design, which I believe will have some weight with them. I commend you to Him who is able to carry you through all opposition and support you in all discouragements, and am, Gentlemen,

Your hearty well-wisher.

To Samuel Hoare, Esq.,
Banker, in London.

On the back is the note: John Wesley, August 18, 1787. Read August 21, 1787.

There is also this note in another hand:

'These amiable persons, much looked up to in France, and both members of the National Assembly, were both guillotined on the same day at Paris by the intrigues of Robespierre.'

To the Trustees of the Preaching-house at Dewsbury

BRISTOL, September 22, 1787.

MY DEAR BRETHREN,—Mr. Broadbent informs me, that you refuse to settle the house at Dewsbury, according to the

articles which we agreed on when I was with you. If you do settle it according to those articles, well ; if not, I have done with you. And I shall give orders to-day that none of our preachers preach in that house after the twenty-second of October next.

The address on the back of the letter, 'To the Trustees for the Preaching-house, at Dewsbury,' is in the handwriting of John Broadbent, who also writes the following note on the back :

MY DEAR BRETHREN,—I hope I have done all in my power to contribute to your happiness and the real good of those connected with us in Dewsbury. I can now do no more. I wish I could prevent that which I know will distress the souls of many. I wish you had taken the advice of a friend.—Ever, JOHN BROADBENT.

There is a note on the back of the letter, close to the address : Mr. W. first letter from Bristol.'

It is an unfamiliar hand, and its significance I do not know.

To Granville Sharp

CITY ROAD, November 14, 1787.

SIR,—It was from a real desire to promote in whatever way I could the excellent design which you have in hand that I mentioned to you (not to others) that report which is current in several places, particularly at Bristol. And I am glad I did mention it, because it is now in my power to justify the Society from the imputation. To bear the expenses of witnesses coming from distant parts is undoubtedly an act of justice, which is liable to no objection. I believe you judge right in supposing the other report was circulated, if not invented too, by those who leave no means untried to raise prejudice against the institution. These certainly will use every possible method to blacken your character. Every opportunity of clearing it will be gladly taken by, sir, Your obedient servant.

On the back, in addition to the address, 'To Granville Sharp, Esq.,' is the note: November 14, 1787, Revd. J. Wesley, read November 22, 1787.

To Walter Griffith

Griffith was Assistant at Athlone, with J. Miller as his colleague.

The Elegy may be that on John Grey of Lislap, who died in 1771

at the age of fifty-five. He invited the Methodists to his house. 'First the father, then each member of his family, as well as some of his servants and many of his neighbours, were made partakers of the grace of God.' He became the class-leader of a prosperous Society. (See Crookshank's *Methodism in Ireland*, i. 200.) An extract from the Elegy appears in the *Arminian Magazine* for April 1788. It is reminiscent of Grey's 'Elegy':

'O'er his lov'd grave, in Contemplation's guise,
Oft let the pilgrim drop a silent tear ;
Oft let the shepherd's louder accents rise,
Big with the sweets of each revolving year.'

LONDON, January 9, 1788.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—I do not remember the clergyman you mention, nor the person whose elegy he writes. But the verses are by no means bad, and probably may have a place in the Magazine.

I am glad to hear that the work of God prospers in your hands. And that neither Brother Miller nor you are yet weary or faint in your mind. Press on to the mark ! This one thing do, save your own soul, and those that hear you.—I am, with kind love to Sister Griffith,

Your affectionate friend and brother.

To Mrs. Knapp

August 1, 1789.

MY DEAR SISTER,—Undoubtedly Mr. Collins was sent to you by the special providence of God, in order to comfort your heart, and lift up your hands. Receive it as a token for good ; and as a fresh proof of His favour. Trust Him, and you shall praise Him.—I am

Yours affectionately.

To Rev. Mr. Abdy

Mr. Abdy was Rector of St. John's, Horsleydown, and gained the lectureship referred to partly through Wesley's interest.

CITY ROAD, December 24, 1789.

As I know the Rev. Mr. Abdy to be both a good man and a good preacher, I wish all that fear God would give him their vote and interest in the present election.

To Jonathan Edmondson

This letter has special interest as Wesley's last reference to his bitter experience in Savannah in connexion with Miss Hopkey. The old

saint sees that all things even then had worked together for good, and bids his young preacher, who had begun his ministry at Epworth in 1786, take courage in what was evidently a similar trial. Edmondson was President in 1818, and died in 1842, after a ministry of great devotion and wide influence.

BRISTOL, *September 1, 1790.*

DEAR JONATHAN,—You are now called to learn one of the most difficult lessons: to say from the heart, ‘Not as I will, but as Thou wilt.’ Many years ago, when I read in the second lesson for the day those words, ‘Son of man, I take from Thee the desire of Thine eyes with a stroke,’ it was as if I was thrust through with a sword. Nevertheless, God caused all to work good. The same He will do for *you*. Trust Him, and you shall praise Him.—I am

Your affectionate brother.

To the Rev. Mr. G——

LONDON, *December 29, 1790.*

REVD. SIR,—I do not approve of Mr. Hanby's baptizing children. I have wrote to him, and told him my mind. If I can remove any inconvenience from you, it will be a pleasure to, sir,

Your affectionate brother.

To the Revd. Mr. G——,
In Bolton, Lancashire.

ADDENDA

To Sophia Cooke

June 20, 1786.

At Thomas Weaver's, Esq., in King Street, Gloucester.

Surely, my dear Sophy, you never can have need to use any ceremony with me. You know, I love you, therefore . . .

To Samuel Bradburn

July 10, 1787.

After 'worse and worse,' add :

'If Sister Brettell is near lying in, she should in no wise have come to the Chapel-house, for she cannot lie in there. Therefore I should think the sooner she removes the better.'

Jeremiah Brettell was Bradburn's colleague in London. The chapel-house is evidently that at City Road.

In the letter to Bradburn of July 17, 1787, read :

with [tender] love to Sophy.

To James Currie

September 15, 1787.

Line 2 : send, *not* 'sent.'

Par. 2 : You see God, *not* 'Your God.'

To James Currie

February 19, 1788.

L. 3 : [but] it.

Par. 2 : In fifty years we have been *once* molested in field-preaching, and may be so again those who live fifty years more. Let it die, etc.

Par. 3 : Four hundred pounds, *whence*, etc.

Mr. Currie had told Wesley of some remarkable answers to his prayers for the sick ; and reported that £6 19s. 9d., 'being the third parts of several penalties' inflicted on Methodists for holding service in the streets of Green's-Norton, had been distributed among the poor of that parish ; and that he and William Horner, the Assistant at Northampton, had seen a building on a better site than that which they now had. It could be purchased and repaired for £300 to £400.

To Thomas Rutherford

The letter on vii. 94 is repeated by an oversight on vii. 116. April 3, 1782, seems the more probable date.

To Philothea Briggs

On v. 128, line 4, read Thomas instead of William Thompson.

CHRONICLE OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS

- i. 1. 1703, June 17, N.S. 28. Born at Epworth.
- 1709, Feb. 9. Saved from the Fire.
- 1711, May 12. Nominated for Charterhouse by the Duke of Buckingham.
- 1714, Jan. 28. Gown-boy at Charterhouse.
- 1720, June 24. Enters Christ Church.
- 1725, Sep. 19. Ordained deacon.
- 1726, Mar. 17. Fellow of Lincoln College.
- 1729. Name Methodist given.
- 1735. Whitefield joins the Holy Club.
- Apr. 25. His father's death.
- i. 185. 1735, Oct. 21. Wesley sails for Georgia.
- 1736, Feb. 5. Reaches America.
- Aug. 11. Charles Wesley leaves Georgia.
- 1737, Dec. 2. John leaves Savannah.
- i. 231. 1738, Feb. 1. John Wesley lands at Deal.
- May 21. Charles Wesley's evangelical conversion.
- 24. John Wesley's evangelical conversion.
- June 13. Visits the Moravian Church.
- 1739, May 2. Field-preaching in Bristol.
- Nov. 11. Preaches in the Foundry.
- 1740, July 20. Withdraws from Fetter Lane.

- ii. 1. 1742, May 28. First visit to Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
- June 6. Preaches on his father's tomb.
- July 30. Death of Susanna Wesley.
- 1743, May 29. Opens West Street Chapel, London.
- Aug. 26. Sets out for Cornwall.
- Oct. 20. Riot at Wednesbury.
- 1744, June 25. First Conference.
- Aug. 24. His last University sermon.
- 1747, Aug. 9. First visit to Ireland.
- 1749, Apr. 8. Marriage of Charles Wesley.
- Oct. 3. Grace Murray marries John Bennet.

- iii. 59. 1751, Feb. 18. Wesley marries Mrs. Vazeille.
- Apr. First visit to Scotland.
- June 1. Resigns his Fellowship.

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- iii. 59. 1753, Nov. 26. Writes his Epitaph at Lewisham.
 1755, Jan. Notes upon the New Testament published.
 May 6-8. Question of Separation from the Church
 discussed at Leeds.
 1756, Sep. 3. The Future of Methodism.
 Nov. Pitt becomes Secretary of State.
- iii. 209. 1757. Charles Wesley's itinerancy becomes limited.
 Mar. 13. Ordination of John Fletcher.
 1758, Jan. 17. Wesley preaches in Nathaniel Gilbert's
 house.
 Mar. 10. Assize Sermon at Bedford.
 Nov. 9. Visits John Berridge at Everton.
 1759, Feb. 16. Public Fast ; fear of French invasion.
 Apr. 8. Death of Thomas Walsh.
- iv. 81. 1760, Feb. 21. French landing at Carrickfergus.
 May 5. Execution of Earl Ferrers.
 Oct. 25. Death of George II.
 1762. Care and trouble in London.
 Nov. 26. Answer to Bishop Warburton.
 1763, Jan. 7. Wesley meets George Bell.
 Mar. Earthquake panic in London.
 Apr. 28. Thomas Maxfield leaves Wesley.
- iv. 227. 1764, Jan. 12. First visit to Dorking.
 Apr. 19. Letter to Evangelical Clergy.
 May. Friendship with Lady Maxwell.
 Hervey Letters published.
 1765, Jan. Conference on Ordinations.
 June. Correspondence with Peggy Dale.
 Nov. 24. Sermon at West Street on The Lord our
 Righteousness.
 1766, Jan. 31. Closer union with Whitefield.
 A Plain Account of Christian Perfection
 published.
 Aug. 3. Great services at Haworth.
 Oct. 30. Death of Margaret Lewen.
- v. 35. 1767. Rigging-loft rented for Methodist preaching
 in New York.
 Mar. 30. Wesley visits Ireland ; leaves July 29.
 Aug. 18. Conference in London ; effort to remove
 debts on preaching-houses ; Francis
 Asbury received on trial.
 1768, Jan. Appointed a domestic chaplain to the
 Countess Dowager of Buchan.

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- v. 35. 1768, Apr. 27. Wesley makes a Will.
 Aug. 24. Trevecca College opened.
 1769, Aug. 1. Conference begins at Leeds; Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor volunteer to go to New York; £50 contributed for the preaching-house there, £20 'given to our brethren for their passage.'
 Hannah Ball's Sunday school at High Wycombe.
- v. 169. 1770, May 5. Letter from Dr. Wrangel.
 Aug. Doctrinal Minutes of the Bristol Conference.
 Sep. 30. Death of George Whitefield.
 Nov. 18. Wesley preaches Whitefield's funeral sermon.
 1771, Jan. 17. Benson dismissed from Trevecca.
 23. Mrs. Wesley leaves him.
 Sep. 4. Francis Asbury sails for America.
 Fletcher's First and Second Check to Antinomianism published.
 Wesley issues the first five volumes of his collected Works.
- v. 297. 1772. Friends provide Wesley with a carriage.
 Apr. 28. Presented with the Freedom of Perth.
 Aug. 14. Meets Howell Harris at Trevecca.
 Fletcher's Third and Fourth Check to Antinomianism published.
 Wesley issues vols. xi.-xvi. of his Works.
 Controversial writings of the Hills and Toplady.
- 1773, Jan. Proposals to John Fletcher.
 Mar. Wesley lets Shadford loose on America.
 Mar. 14. Replies to Sir Richard Hill's Farrago Double-Distilled.
 Dec. Boston Tea Riots.
 Vols. xvii.-xxv. of Wesley's Works published.
- vi. 63. 1774, Jan. 4. Removal of hydrocele.
 June 4. Arrest in Edinburgh.
 20. Narrow escape near Newcastle.
 1775. A Calm Address to our American Colonies published.
 Apr. 27. Death of Peter Böhler.
 June. Serious illness in Ireland.
 June 17. Battle of Bunker's Hill.
 Aug. Asbury decides to stay in America.
 1776, Jan. 3. Death of Westley Hall.

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- vi. 63. 1776, July 4. American Declaration of Independence.
 Aug. 18. Wesley first meets Dr. Coke.
 Oct. 15. Appeal for City Road Chapel, London.
- vi. 247. 1777, Apr. 21. Foundation-stone of City Road Chapel laid.
 May 15. John and Charles Wesley visit Dr. Dodd in Newgate (other visits: Feb. 15, 18; June 25).
 Aug. 7. Fletcher at the Bristol Conference.
 19. Coke casts in his lot with Wesley.
 Oct. 17. Surrender of Saratoga.
- 1778, Jan. 1. First number of Arminian Magazine.
 May 11. Death of Earl of Chatham.
 30. Death of Voltaire.
 June. Rankin returns from America.
 Aug. 5. African Mission discussed.
 11. Death of Toplady.
 Nov. 1. Opening of City Road Chapel.
 Dec. 30. Wesley buries Silas Told.
1779. M'Nab troubles in Bath.
 Wesley publishes *Popery Calmly Considered*.
 Oct. 8. Visits gardens at Cobham, Surrey.
 13. Visits gardens at Stowe.
- vi. 367. 1780, Aug. 10. Letter to Bishop Lowth on ordination for America.
 Dec. 19. Visits Lord George Gordon in the Tower.
- 1781, Jan. 25. At his Nephews' concert.
 Mar. 30. Opens Oldham Street Chapel, Manchester.
 Oct. 8. Death of Mrs. Wesley.
1782. Birstall Chapel Case.
 Jan. Plan for a Tract Society.
 Aug. Adam Clarke at Kingswood School.
- vii. 159. 1783, June. Visit to Holland.
 Aug. Illness at Bristol.
 Sep. The Birstall Chapel Case.
- 1784, Feb. 28. Deed of Declaration executed.
 Sep. 1-2. Ordinations for America.
 Dec. 25-7. Francis Asbury ordained and set apart as General Superintendent for America.
- 1785, May 9. Death of Vincent Perronet.
 Aug. 14. Death of John Fletcher.
- vii. 309. 1786, Jan. 24. Hears George III's speech in House of Lords.

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- vii. 309.** 1786, Mar. 26. Preaches at Madeley about Fletcher.
July 25. Conference begins at Bristol.
Aug. 8. Visits Holland ; returns Sept. 4.
Sep. 24. Dr. Coke sails with three missionaries.
Sep.-Nov. Writing John Fletcher's Life.
1787, Jan. 8-12. Begs £200 for London poor.
Mar. 2. Tea with Rev. Robert Hawker at Plymouth.
Apr. 6-
July 11. In Ireland.
July 27. Breakfast with thirty-six of his preachers at Mr. Robert Peel's. Hears Bolton Sunday scholars sing.
July 31-
Aug. 4. Conference in Manchester.
Aug. 14. Visits Channel Islands ; returns Sept. 6.
Oct. 30. Meets Charles Simeon at Hinxworth.
Dec. 10. Visits ' the celebrated waxwork ' in Spring Gardens.
- viii. 31.** 1788. Second Series of Sermons (four volumes) published.
Mar. 17. Last letter to his brother.
29. Death of Charles Wesley.
Apr. 4. Wesley in Macclesfield hears of his brother's death.
Apr. 5. Burial of Charles Wesley in Marylebone.
June 28. Wesley spends his birthday at Epworth.
July 29-
Aug. 6. Conference at Bristol.
1789, Mar. 29. Visit to Ireland ; returns July 12.
July 28. Conference at Leeds.
Aug. 12-
Sep. 5. Last visit to West of England.
- viii. 193.** 1790. The Life of Mr. Silas Told (written by Himself) published ; Preface dated Nov. 13, 1789.
His revised Translation of the New Testament published ; and Hymns for Children, selected from his brother's Hymns for Children ; Preface dated March 27, 1790.
July 27. Wesley's last Conference, in Bristol.
July 30. Letter to William Wilberforce.
Oct. 6. Last open-air sermon, at Winchelsea.

- viii. 193. 1790, Oct. 11. Crabb Robinson hears Wesley at Colchester.
15. Crabbe hears him at Lowestoft.
24. Last entry in Wesley's Journal.
1791, Feb. 1. Wesley's last letter to America.
22. Last sermon, at Leatherhead; and last entry in his Dairy.
24. Last letter, to Wilberforce.
25. Returns to City Road.
Mar. 2. Dies at City Road at 10 a.m.
9. Buried at City Road.

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A list of the correspondence in each volume is given after its Contents, and where it is extensive it is indicated in this Index at the beginning of the entry by the letter "c." These lists give an interesting view of Wesley's correspondence at successive stages of his life. Special features of interest are noted in the Index.

Many of the references are to Editorial Notes before the Letter and should be read in connexion with the Letter, as special reference has not been made in the Index.

Explanation of abbreviations :

W. = John Wesley. S. W. = Samuel Wesley.
C. W. = Charles Wesley. n = Footnote.

Periods covered by the volumes :

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" II.	May 17, 1742, to Jan. 9, 1749.
" III.	March 28, 1749, to Jan. 10, 1758.
" IV.	Jan. 16, 1758, to Feb. 28, 1766.
" V.	Feb. 28, 1766, to Dec. 9, 1772.
" VI.	Dec. 11, 1772, to March 12, 1780.
" VII.	March 23, 1780, to July 24, 1787.
" VIII.	July 24, 1787, to Feb. 24, 1791.

The Editor is indebted for valuable assistance in the compilation of this Index to Miss Kathleen Birch, Mr. Arthur Aykroyd and Mr. Walter Dell, also especially to the latter for his co-operation in the selection of illustrations and general supervision of this work.

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